

Why the Village Movement?

(A plea for a new economic order in India)

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WARDHA, C.P.

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WITH A FOREWORD

BY

Mahatma Gandhi

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FOREWORD

IT is a good sign that "Why the Village Movement?" is required to go through the third edition. It supplies a felt want. Prof J C Kumarappa answers almost all the doubts that have been expressed about the necessity and feasibility of the movement. No lover of villages can afford to be without the booklet. No doubter can fail to have his doubts dispelled. It is of no use to those who have made up their minds that the only movement worth the name is to destroy the villages and dot India with a number of big cities where highly centralised industries will be carried out and every one will have plenty and to spare. Fortunately as yet there are not many who belong to that school of Destruction. I wonder if the village movement has come just in time to prevent the spread of the movement of despair. This booklet is an attempt to answer the question.

Segaon-Wardha

M. K. GANDHI

2-2-'39

PREFACE

Preface to the first edition

Amongst thinking people the world over there is a growing dissatisfaction as to the efficacy of capitalism as a cure for the poverty that faces us Industrialisation depends on the guarantee of a steady flow of raw materials and a ready market for manufactured goods The system, therefore, requires as a pre-requisite a control of raw materials and markets which can only be obtained by violence Soviet Communism while seeking to remove the profit motive has retained centralised production which entails concentration of power and hence calls for a greater sense of trusteeship to administer it for the benefit of the masses than is required under a concentration of wealth Ultimately the difficulties of collection of raw materials and distribution of finished goods will have to be faced Both capitalism and communism are based on a consideration of material values forgetting that such a myth as the 'Economic Man' does not exist The human factor and the effects of culture are ignored

In this booklet it is sought to examine the chances of basing an economic order on cultural values and human needs which formed the foundation of the old Oriental Civilization Man is a complex being We cannot nurture him to his full stature under a system which carries division of labour to the extreme His religion, philosophy, politics, social and economic activities, and his family relations have all to be rolled into one before a cultural person can evolve We cannot segregate various aspects of his life in different compartments and attempt to develop them in distinct stages.

The practical side of the theme of this booklet can be seen in the programme of work of the All India Spinner's Association and the All-India Village Industries Association. If this booklet clarifies to some extent the ideals of these Associations it will justify its existence.

Maganwadi,
Wardha,
21-12-'36 }

J. C KUMARAPPA

Preface to the Second Edition

In this edition, apart from minor additions and corrections, Chapters on Barter Exchange, Education for life, Democracy in the Orient, and Centralisation vs Decentralisation have been added.

26th Dec 1937,
Maganwadi,
Wardha, C P }

J C KUMARAPPA

Preface to the Third Edition

In bringing out this edition, opportunity has been taken to revise the text and add a chapter on Surveys and Plans.

I am extremely grateful to Gandhiji for having blessed this edition with a foreword from his pen.

5th February 1939,
Maganwadi,
Wardha, C P }

J. C KUMARAPPA

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WHY THE VILLAGE MOVEMENT?

PART I

Historical Background

CHAPTER I

STAGES OF EVOLUTION

The animal kingdom

In the most primitive stages of both men and animals, economic activity is the result of an urge to satisfy primary needs, such as

- 1 Hunger
- 2 Protection against natural elements like wind and weather
- 3 Protection against outside attack

The most elementary form of economic activity is that of gathering supplies which exist in nature. A monkey feels hungry, it stretches out its hand and plucks the leaf or fruit. This is purely predatory. The monkey has done nothing to produce the leaf or fruit. If any factor intervenes which is likely to prevent or retard the supply satisfying the demand, friction is at once generated and causes heat or violence. Thus, if a hungry dog is prevented from consuming the bone he is eating, at once there is violence.

In this activity the animal is highly self-centred and individualistic. If a species is gregarious at all, they get together for hunting down their prey like wolves in a pack, but even then they are only interested in the welfare of their group and unite merely for aggression. Such species are usually ferocious.

When protection is sought against natural elements, it is obtained either by finding natural shelters like caves and holes or through individual effort by building nests or combs as is the manner of birds and bees. In this case there is not much predatory activity as the creature make its own contribution towards the creation of the needed supply.

Safety from outside attack is often obtained by the flocking or herding together of certain kinds of animals like sheep, cattle, elephants, etc. In this form there is a strong feeling of social dependence, and such animals are generally passive and peaceful and not aggressive and ferocious like wolves. For distinction we shall call animals which unite for aggression, such as wolves, "the pack type", and those which gather together for safety "the herd type".

Mankind .

If we analyse carefully the history of man, we shall find the above types reflected in his economic activity in different stages of his evolution. The primitive savage gathered his fruits and edible herbs, clothed

himself with material such as leaves and skins provided by nature and sought shelter in caves and other protected places. Next came the hunter and fisher who produced tools with which they killed or caught other forms of living creatures for their own use. The nomad, on the other hand, captured animals and domesticated them and utilised their products. He wandered from place to place in search of food and fodder. At a much later stage man began to control his environment and produce natural conditions favourable for his purpose and enjoyed the fruits of his labour. When he did this he attained the agricultural stage of civilization.

As civilization advanced the need for a greater division of labour was felt. Industrialisation began in various forms according to the genius of the people in different places.

The economic organisations developed by civilized man under industrialisation bear marks of these earlier types of evolution according to the stage of development from which the particular organisation took its origin. Generally speaking, the animal's activities are individualistic except in the case of gregarious vegetarian animals of the "herd type" which get together for safety or in the case of the "pack type" of carnivorous creatures which unite for aggressive purposes in search of food. The hunter and nomad, who are essentially of the "pack type" are individualistic and predatory and do not consider the rights and privileges of other creatures.

Test of civilization :

We must bear in mind that the true test of civilization is not our material possessions or our manner or mode of life but the thought we bestow on the well-being of others. In piedation, which is really barbarism, we cannot expect to find any civilization, for true culture shifts the emphasis from "rights" to "duties". Consideration for the feelings of others and a sense of responsibility towards them distinguish the "gentleman" from the boor.

When we get to the agricultural stage of civilization we find that a sense of respect for the rights of others and a feeling of one's own limited sphere of exploitation evolves with the laying out of boundaries and landmarks. From this in its turn, grows a sense of responsibility for one's own actions and their consequences on others. "In this stage of civilization the economic organisation is not individualistic as in the earlier stages but becomes socialised much in the same way as the herd type of animals." Activities are controlled impersonally by means of rules of conduct and by a well conceived regulatory machine. The time taken to pass from one stage to another may be counted in thousands of years since the characteristics of the earlier stages have to be eradicated or modified and the characteristics of the next stage formed. If there is not sufficient time between one stage and another for human nature to evolve, there is a disruption or maladjustment in human society.

STAGES OF EVOLUTION

Characteristics.

Broadly speaking, we may classify human economic organisations into two types, the individualistic type and the social type, or, if we wish to name them clearly with reference to the animal prototype from which they originated, we may call them "the pack type" and the "herd type".

In the "pack type", are found the following characteristics —

- 1 Short time outlook on life
- 2 Central control and concentration of power in the hands of individuals or small groups in a personal way
- 3 Rigorous discipline
- 4 Disregard of the welfare of the actual workers or contributors to the success of the organisation
- 5 Suppression of individuality in the worker and a spirit of intolerance either in competition or in rivalry
- 6 The prospect of obtaining gains the motive force for all activities
- 7 Concentration of the benefits obtained and the sharing of them amongst a limited few
- 8 To gather in as much as one can without reference to the altruistic value of service rendered, the object being predatory

We may add that owing to the concentration of power and benefit, these activities generally radiate from a limited geographical area such as cities

In the "herd type", on the other hand we find —

1. Long time outlook on life.
2. Social control, decentralisation and distribution of power, the working and regulation being impersonal
3. Activity steered into desired channels by rules of conduct and social regulatory machinery
4. Attempts made to safeguard the weak and the helpless
5. Encouragement given to individual growth and expressed by a considerable amount of tolerance
6. Activities directed by a consideration of certain set ideals and social movements
7. Distribution of gains as wide as possible according to the needs of individuals
8. The object is to satisfy needs judged from an altruistic point of view

Because of the attempt to decentralise control and production, economic activity is broad-based, being scattered over a wide geographical area in the form of village groups

In the light of these facts, we shall attempt in the following two chapters to analyse some of the forms of economic organisation evolved by the human race

CHAPTER II

WESTERN ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS

Although, in point of time, western organisations evolved much later than our own, we shall consider their merits and demerits first because the ostensible object of this brochure is to enable us to lay a foundation for the proper evolution of the future economic organisation of our own country.

Different types:

Owing to the fact that western peoples had no time to settle down to an agricultural civilization which they had only just attained when industrialisation overtook them, we find a great number of points at which their economic organisation dovetails into the hunter and nomad stages of evolution. Consequently the characteristics of the "pack type" which we considered in the last chapter stand well pronounced in their industrial organisations. We may classify them into five main groups according to the personnel of the central controlling group, and as the masses, whether of the West or of the East, are of much the same kind, we may eliminate them.

- 1 The dynasty of might
- 2 The dynasty of finance
- 3 The dynasty of the machine.

- 4 The dynasty of labour
- 5 The dynasty of the middle classes

The dynasty of might is represented by the feudal organisation in which the feudal baron with his retinue under military discipline descended on the villages from his castle and compelled the producing masses to surrender part of the fruits of their labour to him for no conceivable return beyond the doubtful protection afforded by him from the attacks of marauders other than himself. The return for his services or the amount rendered to him was tribute. The benefit so received was mainly for the use of the feudal baron. Any thought of the welfare of the villagers who surrendered a share of the products to the baron never occurred to him. What did Napoleon care how many of his soldiers he left dead on the way so long as he could get to Moscow?

Towards the end of the 18th century we find the dynasty of finance coming into evidence with the commercial exploitation of inventions and the accumulation of capital secured through centuries of economic activities. Owing to religious persecution, men with original thinking powers sought shelter from middle Western Europe in Great Britain. At that time, Britain was a poor country and had not the requisite accumulation of capital to bring to full fruition the benefit of imported brain power. This desideratum was made possible by Empire Builders directing the flow of gold

from the Ganges to the Thames With the rise of financial power the feudal baron found it to his advantage to join hands with the financier This combination of might and finance led to what is called in modern times "Imperialism" In this also there is need of discipline in the form of "team work" and the return that the organisation gets is called "interest" as against the "tribute" of the feudal lord The control is centralised and the success of each organisation depends upon the person or persons directing the institution The recognition of the importance of discipline in the form of joint effort for the success of the financial dynasty is evinced by the fact that "team work" is almost deified in Great Britain Games which are based on team work such as cricket, football, hockey and boat-racing have become national sports and those who excel in these games are considered almost heroes and fit to carry on the work of the empire In this system, too, all that mattered was the interest that the financier received The welfare of the producer was again forgotten Did King Leopold of Belgium think of the mutilated bodies of the natives of the Congo so long as he got his returns from their forced labour ?

America is the best example of machine civilisation There, man stood aghast at the might of nature He had to grow artificial hands in the form of machinery to grapple with vast distances, mighty rivers and impenetrable forests in order to make them serve his

needs These circumstances led to the development of machinery as a labour-saving device By its very origin the control was limited to the few and the interests of those who contributed to the production were ignored The factory workers might be made into minced meat but the machinery of the meat packers of Chicago could not be stopped to save the life of a labourer

Under this dynasty, discipline took the form of a speeding-up process and standardisation of the article This organisation also partakes of all the characteristics mentioned in the "pack-type" and the return that is obtained from the use of the machine represents the profits to the machine owner

When opportunity occurred, exploited labour turned the tables on the feudal barons, the financier, and the machine owner and took its turn at the helm and thus we find communism organised in the "pack type" In this system also, most of the characteristics of the other organisations are represented viz , centralisation of control and power, rigid discipline and suppression of the individual in regard to production and distribution Whatever good may have been obtained or envisaged by the directing body giving primary consideration to the needs of the community and not so much to the amount of profit obtained, yet this organisation too is a sectarian or class organisation run by the proletariat with special privileges attached to the sect in power,

More recently we find the struggle of the middle classes to seize power represented in organisations such as Nazism and Fascism, both based on much the same lines as Capitalism

Common features.

All these organisations are city-centered and in time will lead to degeneration of the producing masses because no initiative is left to them, their function being merely one of carrying out higher orders. Already, within a period of one or two generations, we find in the most well-organised capitalistic country, America, that nervous diseases, due to the strain involved in the system of economic production, are giving cause for alarm. In New York State one person out of every 22 is said to be in an asylum. There are 81,000 feeble-minded and 40,000 insane, in hospitals. About 400,000 children are so sub-normal that they are unable to follow the ordinary curricula of schools, and in the U S A as a whole, there are eight times the number of feeble-minded as there are consumptives. It is said that mental diseases in America are far more dangerous than tuberculosis, cancer, heart disease, kidney troubles, typhus, plague and cholera all put together. An economic organisation that leads to this situation cannot be self-propagating in as much as any organisation should be able to produce its own leaders. But all modern capitalistic methods, in so far as they lead to the degeneration of the people engaged in them, carry within

themselves the seeds of their own destruction and therefore will cease to exist in course of time. When, therefore, we seek to establish a suitable form of economic organisation for our country, we cannot accept a type that leads to the production of mental defectives.

It is because of this nervous strain that the clamour for "leisure" in industrialised countries of the West is so loud. Under their system, leisure is a necessity as their organisation is unnatural. Again the nervous strain calls for something to soothe the nerves. This makes the worker to resort to drink and other vices.¹¹ Natural work, on the other hand, causes physical weariness for which rest and repose in sleep are sufficient recuperatives.

The working of all these organisations is lubricated by educating the masses into thinking that happiness is to be obtained by developing a multiplicity of wants. Sanctions based on violence are essential to these systems.

Conclusion

While "pack type" organisations have their evils, they have also some strong points. We may include the first three dynasties of might, finance and machine under "Capitalism".

¹¹ Under capitalism the profit motive is given free play and individuals are allowed to exploit every

situation to their gain even at the cost of injuring society. The advantage of this system is that "every individual gets an opportunity to exercise his talents and energy as he likes". In trying to check this, the communists have gone to the other extreme by doing away altogether with the profit motive. Under their system, a small idealistic group plans the work for the nation." Individual talent and initiative are entirely suppressed. While the individualistic outlook of capitalism is bad, it is also a mistake to suppress man to the extent of making him into an automaton incapable of thinking for himself. Both extremes have to be avoided. In one, the individualistic outlook appears in an exaggerated form. In the other, the personality of the individual is utterly crushed. While the first is based on uncontrolled selfish greed, the other is based on class hatred.

We contend that both under capitalism and communism, human values are not fully taken into account. Every individual has a personality which, when properly developed has its contribution to make to society. We have no right to look upon the common run of human beings, as either gun-fodder as under capitalism or a cogwheel in a machine as under communism. We should not wholly reject either centralisation or private ownership, nor may we entirely ban the profit motive nor advocate complete decentralisation. What we want to find is a mean between capitalism and communism. Both systems have failed to bring out the

best in individuals, and both have led to group violence—capitalism by trying to find markets and communism by keeping out the foreigner and trying to enforce its plan. Hence we have to modify both, while we do not reject the profit motive, we shall have to try and curb the capacity of the individual to accumulate profits and wealth. We human beings are so built that progress can only be possible with the advance of each individual. For the advance of each individual, it is necessary to allow a certain amount of self-interest. This is fully demonstrated in everyday life. When a man works for a fixed salary as, say, in a Government post, the contribution he makes to society is generally of a routine nature. The greatest inventions and discoveries have been the results of venturesome spirits attempting to give expression to their inner urge. Decentralisation of production ensures the producer the product of his labour. Therefore, if group production has disadvantages the alternative is desentralised production. While it may be granted that group activity has a contribution to make within a limited community, it is open to serious doubt whether such activity is possible on a national scale for any length of time. A few idealists may get together and run an Ashram or other philanthropic institutions on the basis of service but whether such principles can be applied in the present state of varied and varying civilisations on a world basis may be questioned. For even Russia finds it necessary to shut herself out from the outside world in order to carry

out communistic experiments Foreign trade is a state monopoly and intercourse with foreign nations is highly restricted Thus the communistic experiment is carried on almost in a laboratory Experiments may be carried on under controlled circumstances in order to find out the laws that govern economic movements but it is too much to expect humanity, as a whole, to function in like manner under normal conditions without such controlled environment

Centralised production under Capitalism with the profit motive as its propelling force directs labour from the supply of primary needs to luxuries, from food to face powder, because the margin of profit is greater in luxury goods than on comfort supplies and the profits on the latter are greater, than the goods for primary needs A rupee in the hands of a poor man may represent present two days' food for him and his family, but the same coin in the hands of a millionaire may represent merely the value of a drink or a smoke Therefore the money in the hands of the poor man has a high value in commodities while the very same amount in the hands of a rich man, represents little utility Hence any production that aims at gathering in the largest number of rupees will naturally cater for the needs of the rich man who will throw away his money with the greatest ease It follows that luxury articles provide a larger percentage of profit for the producer, it being easier to make a profit by making lip sticks or such

other toilets articles used by the rich than by supplying the needs of the poor in the shape of reed mates or mud utensils. Hence it is that we find a world facing starvation and overproduction at the same time.

Centralised production, whether under Capitalism or under Communism, will in the long run lead to national deterioration, as there is only a limited scope for the exercise of the entrepreneur's ability. Not a little of the unbusinesslike habits of our people is due to lack of opportunity for their assuming responsibility whether in business or in Government. Unless one is allowed to strike out for oneself, there can be no healthy growth. We cannot have a nation of stalwarts on centralised methods. Both political and economic freedom need decentralisation if they are to germinate. The right place for a machine is as an instrument in the hands of man, but when man is turned into a machine-feeder, the whole organisation is up-side-down. Man does not exist for the machine.

Under Communism, society is made a fetish of and individuals sink into insignificance. However many material comforts a person may be provided with by society, what shall it profit him if he loses his personality?

Communistic production takes the form of military discipline in the economic sphere and too much regimentation and discipline is bad for growth. Soviet

Communism is also based on class hatred. Indeed, it is an outcome of class hatred. Even to-day, there are distinctly marked differences in the treatment of peasants and workers. While under imperialism violence is directed towards foreigners and strangers, the violence of Communism is internal. Its own people have to suffer it. If what we hear about the violent methods adopted to suppress the bourgeois class has even an iota of truth in it, no lover of human progress can advocate such methods in any group. Because, if we sow a wind, we reap a whirlwind. We cannot afford to lay the foundation stone of a new order for ourselves on class hatred.

It is argued that if we are to have any form of Government, violence is essential. As has already been pointed out, a certain amount of violence will always be involved in any state control, but what matters is the degree and the spirit behind what appears to be violence. Even a loving father chastises his child. If there is violence in such chastisement, then there is bound to be such violence also in a government as we conceive it. If the government is truly democratic the Government will represent the people. In such a Government any regulatory function that requires violence will be self-inflicted and so it is nothing more than self-discipline.

CHAPTER III

EASTERN ECONOMIC ORGANISATIONS

It is in old countries such as India, China and Japan (as she was) that we find agricultural civilisation influencing economic organisation. Such civilisations are the results of philosophy and conscious social planning. The western systems are haphazard growths without any thought behind them. In this sense the West can hardly be said to have a civilisation at all. It is more a refined barbarism. The only exception in the West to this is Soviet Russia which is the first attempt at a well-planned society in the West with a socialist philosophical Philosophy, good or bad, behind it. In the Oriental type, the social organisation of the country is harnessed to direct and control economic activity. It is a far cry from the "pack" to the "herd type". The countries which have worked on the latter methods have evolved social systems which are very similar to one another. In the "pack type" there is the common characteristic of aggression for economic purposes, but in this type there is a getting together not for aggression but for internal safety and consolidation. As a matter of fact, in Mongolian countries, foreigners were excluded until very recently, and in India foreign travel was looked down upon and definitely discouraged. Merchants alone went out of the country for commercial purposes. The regulation and decentralisation of power made the entire organisation work in an impersonal way, the driving

power being obtained by hitching the economic machinery on either to civil laws or religion or superstition. The interests of the weak and the helpless were safeguarded by provisions which none could break with impunity. As a result, we find in India such institutions as the joint family system, the division of labour by caste, and the method of distribution to artisans of a share in the products of agriculture.

All the members of a joint family shared what was provided by the earning members. If one had a large income, one's brother who was incapable of working was also supported. The large income being shared amongst all the members of the family made the distribution of wealth more equitable, and uncontrolled competition such as would have been possible for extremely wealthy individuals was thereby curbed. The joint family system not only avoided competition and mal-distribution of wealth, but it also offered protection to the incapable and the weak. The caste system aimed at directing the various units of economic activity in consonance with one another and safeguarding the community from over-production through personal greed and uncontrolled competition. The *puddi, dan or the baluta* system of payment in kind to the artisans assured to every individual a minimum of subsistence. (2) The carpenter, the blacksmith and the chamar produced their articles and supplied them to the people in the villages free of money charges, taking in return a share in the

production of local agriculture which afforded them a minimum subsistence allowance. The organisation itself was not one suited for the exploitation of the weak by the strong. The principles underlying these systems appear to be based on the conception that work itself is a method of distribution of wealth. The community was regarded as a corporate unit with its various members performing their own functions and contributing to the life of the community as a whole, just as the different members of our body work together, share a common life and form a unit. It would not do, for instance, for the heart to quarrel with the hands or the feet, or for the stomach to refuse nourishment to the heart. These systems also promoted solidarity and co-operation within the groups and provided little chance for exploitation. People working within such an organisation were like sheep folded in a pen and sheltered from wolves in the shape of exploiters. Exploitation itself was not altogether absent, but the purpose of the organisation was to minimise opportunities for such and offer protection to the innocent by putting up social barriers. These old systems are now not capable of bearing the strain put on them by the tremendous expansion in the field of economic activity. It will be necessary for us, however, carefully to consider the systems evolved under old conditions and devise ways and means of similarly organising present day production without involving a nervous strain on the producer and, at the same time, ensuring to every worker the

fruits of his labour We have seen that the "pack type" had given unbridled scope to the venturesome under its theory of *laissez faire* and its corollary of the independence of the individual, while the "herd type" recognised that the selfishness of the individual had to be curbed in the interest of society as a whole

In other Spheres

When we look at the West and the East from these points of view, we notice that the distinction made between the "pack type" and the "herd type" in the economic world is also to be observed in other spheres such as the political, religious and social In the political field we find true democracy absent in all Western countries It masquerades under the cloak of parliamentary organisation in which real power is vested in a group or in a single dominating personality Similarly even in a personal and tolerant religion, such as was practised by Jesus we find, as organised in the West, concentration of authority and power in one person, the Pope, or in an institution such as the church The outcome of this has been begot intolerance In social life also we find fashions dictated from palaces slavishly followed in the cottages, and the whole structure of society taking its cue from the cities The civilization that has developed has been a city civilization originating from Greece and Rome.

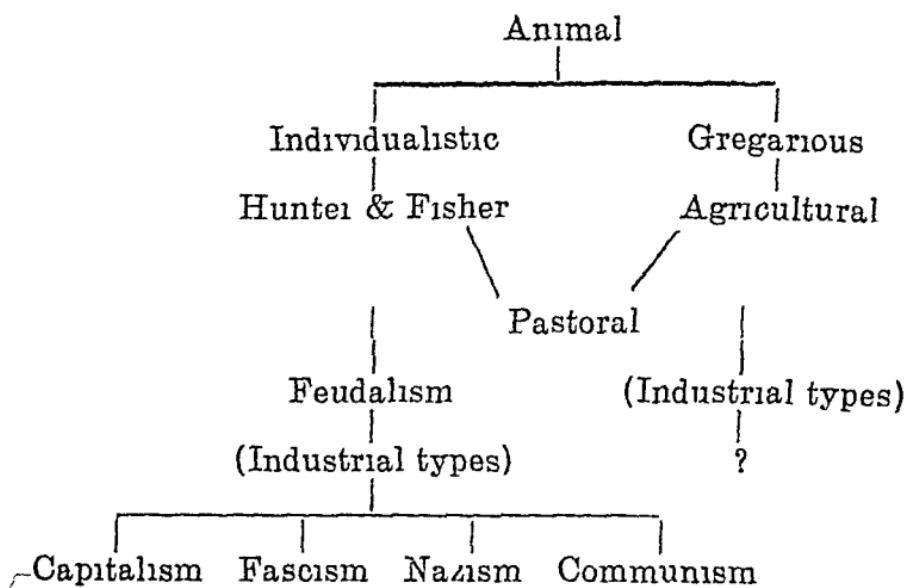
In India, on the other hand, in the political field in the past, village republics managed their own affairs.

Even when foreign invaders came, the everyday life of the villager was left undisturbed. In religion we notice the same tendency to decentralise the form of worship and views in regard to the Godhead, with the result that there was extreme tolerance. In social life grandeur was centred in the palace and the temple, while the life of the citizen was generally simple and suited to village conditions. The people's desire for pageantry and colour found artistic outlets in festivals connected with the palace and the temple, leaving no room for personal display.

Thus we mark the fundamental difference between the "pack" and the "herd types". India has been under the "herd type" for centuries and has evolved a culture which cannot support without detriment to itself the superstructure of the "pack type". We constantly notice the difficulty that is felt in India in getting a small body of men to work without questioning the authority of the leader, which is the simplest of the requirements of the "pack type". A casual scrutiny of any newspaper will show the difficulties that bodies such as District boards find in pulling together. There is a fundamental reason for this which has its roots in the civilization that has evolved through centuries in our country. We shall have to note these variations in formulating a system of economic production best suited to modern conditions and capable of working satisfactorily in India, if industrialisation is not to bring with it all the evils attendant on its development in the West.

If we attempt to superimpose a foreign structure on our ancient foundation, the edifice will certainly tumble like a pack of cards. A plant that flourishes in Russia under hot-house conditions may not thrive if transplanted in our country. The "pack type" is short-sighted and selfish and its control is centralised and personal, when, however, the control is socialised and decentralised, the policy can be a long-sighted one.

The following table gives a broad outline indicating the origin of the various systems considered in this and the preceding Chapters.



The West has evolved some systems based on its own "pack type" civilization for its industrial life. India had an agricultural "herd type" civilization which is now decadent.

The four castes.

We have fallen away from our ideals, and if we are to rebuild again, we have to regain the principles that guided our forefathers. Our degeneration is largely due to deterioration in our national character and to selfishness in individuals. Society consists of a variety of people. We can classify them in four groups—
 1 Those who take a long range view of life and live their lives in ideals.
 2 Those whose range of view is comparatively limited but is still beyond their own span of life.
 3 Those whose vision is limited to their own lives.
 4 Those who follow in a rut without much imagination.
 In the Varnashram these are called respectively the Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and the Sudra.

The Brahmin is one who sees far into the future. He therefore, forgets his mud shell of a body and lives in his ideals. His symbol is the beggars' bowl. He will sacrifice his all to attain his ideal. He knows no compromises.

On the other hand, the kshatriya though he also sees far enough to count his body as nothing yet he will not go further than the society in which he lives. He will be prepared to compromise to that extent where it will help the society. His symbol is the flag.

The third type is circumscribed by his skin. He cannot see any further. His ideals are limited to his escaping the jail and making the best of life. He is

self centred and his symbol is the balance This is the Vaisya

Then we see the Sudra with not even the venturesomeness and imagination of the Vaisya He prefers a well laid out life.

For example an electrician who lives to explore the possibilities of the science without any regard to personal gain is a Brahmin One who learns the science with the object of helping to industrialise his country and thereby raise the economic standards of his people is a Kshatriya He who takes contracts or deals in electric supply or goods in consideration of material gain is a Vaisya But the man who wants to enter Government electrical department because of the permanency of tenure, economic security and a pension is a Sudra

A Brahmin by birth who practises law to make money by exploiting the quarrelsomeness of human nature is a Bania and not a Brahmin A Kshatriya by birth who accepts office under a foreign government is no true kshatriya as he sells himself into slavery for money A kshatriya worthy of his salt will give his blood for freedom and not barter away his soul The Brahmin who was originally intended to be the custodian of the purity of the race and the trustee of national culture has misappropriated these privileges and has contrived by various means to keep himself segregated from his fellow-beings. By these means, the Brahmins

are rapidly losing their former position of responsibility and leadership It is very like the case of a medical man who in order to avoid contagion or infection from sick people abandons his profession and confines himself in a germproof cell Such a person, instead of protecting society from danger, is a parasite himself Thus before we begin to reform society, we should fully appreciate the purposes for which institutions were established in the past It must also be remembered that, however commendable a particular administration or organisation may be in a given country, such an organisation cannot be satisfactorily transplanted in another country unless the environment and the human element are identical in the two countries What is good enough for America cannot be the ideal for Russia, what suits Italy will not pass muster in England, and much less will any of them fulfil our needs

PART II

The Modern Situation

CHAPTER IV

NATURAL ORDER

Historically, if we follow the natural order of things, demand, as represented by hunger and by the need for shelter and protection, precedes supply (food, clothing and housing) Wherever there is a demand, a suitable supply follows "Necessity is the mother of invention" To a certain extent, the existing demand may also be the urging factor for anticipating future wants as in the case of storing provisions against a rainy day Compare, for example, the habits of creatures such as ants, bees etc, in this regard

In the case of an agricultural civilization, the system ordained by nature is not interfered with to any great extent If there is a variation at all, it follows a natural mutation The agriculturist only aids nature or intensifies in a short time what takes place in nature in a long period He has improved the wild varieties found in nature He has converted grass seeds into wheat and rice by accelerating natural conditions Similarly in economic organisation, agricultural civilization has followed nature largely in the methods adopted

for producing commercial products Commodities are brought into existence either to order or to meet the usual and easily determinable market demand A social regulating machine aids distribution, but production follows individual effort. There is no central planning unless it be to co-ordinate effort but it is not employed to set the pace The result is that marketing functions do not create any disruption in production as the primary needs of the locality are considered first Cities and towns merely perform the function of distributing agents and wealth remains in the villages Though the individual amount of wealth is comparatively small, distribution is more equable than in the "pack type" where production followed that sphere where large profits could be made and thus becoming more and more centralised, led to the concentration of inordinate wealth in the hands of a few

Under the economic system of the " pack type " derived, as it is, from the primitive hunter and feudal baron, we find that the variations from nature are very violent in that a large supply of goods is produced irrespective of demand, and then a demand is artificially created for goods by means of clever advertisements, as for example in the case of soaps, hair-growers, tea, tonics etc As it is to-day, the feast is spread, but there is no appetite and we have to create it by appetisers. We shall, as a consequence, suffer from indigestion as the hunger was artificial This policy mars the even

course of economic production, and leads to over-production, mal-adjustment and mal-distribution of wealth, for the whole system works from the point of view of the individual controller

Under capitalism, the tools used are expensive This entails a heavy overhead cost To lessen the proportion of this expenditure the producer manufactures standardised articles on a large scale, and comes into keen competition with other producers, for the person who gets his goods into the market first gets the best of it This leads to a glut in the market and in order to create an artificial demand, high pressure salesmanship is resorted to by means of advertisements etc Here then the urge that brings the supply into existence is not the demand but the unnatural overhead load This being an artificial system needs violence to make it work

Owing to the heavy investment a large proportion of the selling price has to be reserved for replacement, profits and interest, and only a small percentage goes to distribute purchasing power as wages Indeed, the efforts of the capitalists is directed towards reducing wages This leads to a curtailment of purchasing power among the masses and thus limits their power to consume Hence we witness underconsumption, or relative overproduction and consequent economic depression When there is such a congestion, war becomes a necessity to let out blood and start over again.

Under communism also the urge to produce goods is from outside the producer and, therefore, not a natural one. Hence that too requires artificial stimulants in one form of violence or the other to sustain it.

In order to produce a better percentage of profit, producers, sometimes unite and form what are called "trusts", "cartels" or "combines". While these are not wholly individualistic, they can in nowise be said to be in the interests of the nation, for they merely enlarge the circle of control and direction and continue to concentrate power and wealth. Where private motive proves to be inimical to production, socialisation of control takes place by assigning the function of direction and authority to the state. This is a variation which works satisfactorily to a limited extent in the case of public utility services, such as water supply, management of forests, and provision of communications like telephones, telegraphs, roads etc.

Barriers cause himsa

In regard to production, even where the regulatory functions under this "pack type" are assigned to Government, various forms of economic barriers are put up by way of control of currency and prices, fixing of freight rates and raising of tariff walls. Even Governments which work with the "pack type" usually become subject to the control of its economic organisation and function for the benefit of the few who

control production. In other words, in practice, under the "pack type", Governments have become mere cog-wheels in the economic machinery. There is hardly a single Government in the West that can be pointed to as being a thing apart, performing its duties purely with a view to the betterment of the masses. Not only in Capitalism but also in Communism, the State has become the mainspring of the economic machinery. While the ideal is that Governments should provide the fulcrum for economic activity they have become the levers themselves with the result that the world has been turned into multifarious economic units, divided by fences which are political, geographical and ethnical.

In such a world of conflicting interests, there is little likelihood of peaceful production, as raw materials, partly manufactured goods and finished products have perpetually to cross these artificial barriers. The greater the number of artificial barriers introduced into the flow of economic goods, the harder it becomes to keep that flow smooth and easy. To-day, therefore, the world is made up of alternating stagnant pools and rapids created by these disturbing factors in the stream of economic production.

Misdirection

Production itself does not attempt to cater for the needs of the common people but, as we have already

noticed, follows activities which result in the largest profit. It is partly because of this misdirection of energy due to the profit motive that we find over-production side by side with starvation in the world to-day

Under the "herd" system, as seen in India, the production of necessities was distributed in small local groups by the social regulation of caste

Under the natural order it is essential that there should be fluidity in production and exchange. This is provided in the "herd type", as we have just seen, by the organisation dividing its production centres into small units and making payments largely in kind rather than in money. The chamar makes the shoe and in effect exchanges it for food. The rice producer gets his shoe and gives a part of his production to the chamar. This completes the cycle. If, on the other hand, the rice producer buys a Japanese shoe, he cuts the ground from under his own feet for the village shoemaker is to that extent impoverished and unemployed and so is unable to buy the rice producer's product, while the chances of the Japanese producer buying the rice from the buyer of the shoe are very remote. The greater probability is that the Japanese shoe manufacturer will exchange his purchasing power for obtaining his raw materials from other foreign countries, and if there were no economic friction the money might, by taking a circuitous course, return to the rice producer.

in India But as things are to-day there are so many economic barriers between the Japanese shoe manufacturer and our rice producer, that the purchasing power, for all intents and purposes, never returns to the rice producer in India Such an out-going with no return constitutes a considerable national loss of wealth

Money economy:

Money which was primarily introduced as a convenient medium of exchanging goods has now come into its own under the "pack type" The whole of the capitalistic structure is based on it It has assumed the role of a standard of values People are educated to judge affairs on a price basis A market value is placed even on cultural education "Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest" has become a rule of life All other standards — aesthetic, human and altruistic — are forgotten Thus the golden calf has been installed on a high pedestal and the world is told to bow down before Mammon This is a mechanical allegiance to metal But "man does not live by bread alone". There are other things that matter which have their roots deep down in human nature Unless our economic order is built on these natural foundations, hoarded gold will only hasten the sinking of the drowning man to the bottom of the sea

At present in India our freight rates are such that the natural course of marketing is disturbed. One

would imagine that Nasik grapes would sell cheaper at the Nasik Railway station than Australian grapes, but owing to artificial barriers introduced in the form of freight rates, it is cheaper to buy Australian grapes in Nasik. Several similar instances might be quoted to illustrate what is meant. As long as a free flow of goods does not exist, it is folly for any one to enter distant or international markets. There is a great deal said at the present time about developing agriculture. If by this is meant that we should produce food and necessities for our millions, it will certainly be a step in the right direction, but if the aim is to produce commodities for international markets, our agriculturists will do well to beware. Already, owing to greed, our farmers have burnt their fingers by trying commercial crops during a boom season, but the same have left them in the lurch during periods of depression. They forget that they do not possess the economic reserve to step into speculative business with impunity. It will be time for us to consider production for international markets when exchange policies and prices of international markets are controlled for the benefit of all and not merely in the interests of a few who are powerful enough to make their voices heard. In the absence of such conditions, the only wise course for us is to cater for local needs and steer clear as far as possible of middlemen.

CHAPTER V

THE FUNCTION OF WORK

Should our purpose be one of making work for many? If it should, then what is the virtue in making work? Is it charity? Is work a curse or a blessing? What does work bring to man? Do men improve by working or do they wear out? We shall spend a few moments considering these and similar questions.

The supply of good wholesome food material and other honest products is in itself a worthy object. It is social work of a high order especially in these days of adulteration. Finding employment for the unemployed may also be considered a praiseworthy humanitarian work. If we stop at these, have we fulfilled our mission in life? If work were only a matter of supplying goods, why not go in for mass production whereby larger quantities may be supplied? Work for work's sake idealises drudgery. Drudgery is to be minimised, and one who makes drudges of men is no benefactor. Then what is it we are after?

Work as Religion.

One of the things that distinguish man from beast is religion. By religion people generally understand ceremonial worship. If a man is truly religious, his every action should declare the glory of his Maker. Ordinarily understood, religion occupies only a little

fraction of man's waking hours. Most of his time is spent in work Practically all his thought is concentrated on it and his life consists of what he does This being so, work is even more consequential than ceremonial religion We may almost say that work is the practical side of religion. To deny man his opportunity to work is therefore to deny him the privilege of being a full-fledged human being if religion differentiates man from beast Looked at this way, work denied to man is like denying him entry into a temple Economically, the unemployed are like the untouchables in society. Both stages are equally degrading to man Banishing unemployment is like throwing open the doors of a temple to everybody

A little clear thinking will show that from a practical point of view the function that work plays in society is even more important than that of ceremonial religion It is easy to profess to love God in the abstract, but it is difficult to show one's love of God in one's everyday dealings with one's neighbour The first represents the ordinary conception of religion and the latter the real function of work If we do not love the brother we have seen, how shall we love God whom we have not seen ?

From this aspect, work is, as already said, even more important than ceremonial religion But work has not always been looked upon as sacred.

Analysis of Work

When we analyse work we do not find it a curse in itself. It has two important components—(1) the germ of growth, i.e. an element which makes for the development and happiness of the individual and (2) drudgery, just as any seed may have the pericarp and the starch and even as any balanced diet needs both the concentrates and the roughage to make it wholesome, work needs both its component parts to enable one to benefit by it. As the saying goes genius is one percent inspiration and ninety nine percent perspiration. Without the perspiration or drudgery the inspiration cannot become effective. One has to have both to benefit by it. The drudgery part of work is essential to enable one to grow through work. A musician has to practise hundreds of hours on his instrument before he can perform on the stage.

Before a person becomes a scientist he has to labour years in a laboratory and cultivate a sense of smell which will appreciate sulphurated hydrogen. These are inevitable. Therefore there can be growth only when the pleasurable part of work is combined with the drudgery. One who avoids drudgery will not gain by the pleasurable part only. Though one may enjoy it for a time one will begin to deteriorate after a while. When properly used work itself functions as an outlet to the personality of the individual, it gives expression to that which is highest in man and develops

his faculties. Whatever ideals, principles or religion a man may adhere to are reflected in his everyday work. Thus there is action and reaction between the individual and his work. The reaction on the individual is, perhaps, much more important than the work done because it goes to develop human personality and thereby contributes to human progress.

Naturally the drudgery part of work being unpleasant, human nature being what it is, there is always an attempt to avoid it or shift it on to someone else. But as no one is willing to take on drudgery for what it is it becomes necessary to use coercion. If we set out merely to enjoy life we shall have to force someone else to take up the drudgery part of work at the threat of the taskmaster's whip. Western nations made no attempt to overcome this divorce of the pleasurable germ from the drudgery part of work.

On the other hand they definitely set out to glorify the pleasures of life which in itself means enslavement of others. It was on such a philosophy of work that the ancient empires of Greece and Rome worked, shifting the unpleasant part of activity by which pleasure can be had, on to captives made into slaves. Similarly during the feudal days the lords got drunk and serfs laboured. It was a sign of distinction to enjoy without working. Again under the financial regime the capitalist and the executives enjoyed at the cost of the factory drudge. When we come to the

political age we see Empires enjoying at the cost of their colonies. The whole of this system is based on violence. Without violence no nation can shift its drudgery to other nations and convert them into "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

Forms

According to Aristotle, slavery was ordained by Nature. Work devoid of its opportunity for self-expression becomes drudgery, and slavery is the result. In consequence, the civilization of Greece and Rome regarded work as an evil. In the measure in which a man could free himself from work or heavy toil, he gained social status. Slaves were ordained by nature to toil away. Under such ideals these civilizations collapsed. We still find the same view point on work projected into the economic organisations of the West.

We may divide our daily activities into three kinds —

- 1 exertion under external order
- 2 exertion for its own sake
- 3 exertion with a self-chosen purpose

The first form is slavery and saps the vital energy of human life. The second form is one in which there is physical development or pleasure as in games and play, but it is in the third we find true work with an aim which leads to the development of the higher faculties in man.

If work for work's sake were good, then indeed slavery would be goodness itself in "pill form". What is then wrong with slavery? Initiative is taken away and this leads to decay of personality. Thus the seed of mental development is sterilised. All that is left is drudgery. In its proper place drudgery is no evil, but by itself it is a drag. Just as for good digestion we need a good deal of roughage, we need 90 or 95% of drudgery to get the best out of work, and just as if we eat only the roughage and no food our stomachs will suffer and life may become extinct, so also if we have only drudgery and no initiative, all progress will be at an end and society will die. The toil of slavery is not work but drudgery, and hence it spells death. If we give drudgery to the masses, as is done under the methods of large scale production, there is nothing but social death awaiting us. The irksomeness in slavery is largely due to external compulsion having taken the place of willing co-operation or personal initiative. We have seen that the first type leads to deterioration and death and, therefore, taking into consideration the wear and tear of human life, slavery is the most extravagant form of labour.

Status .

In a predatory stage, honest work is looked down upon. A person is regarded clever if he can acquire the greatest amount of material gain with the least amount of exertion. Physical work is certainly at a discount. It is because of this view point that exploitation has

gained ground. The mentally alert, in order to save themselves from work have lorded it over the less assertive ones whom they have forced to work for them. Further, in this stage, work is looked upon as a means of acquiring wealth. Wealth in its turn is not sought after for the means of providing the primary needs of life but for the acquisition of control over the lives of other men or, in other words, for power. Wealth in this sense is a dangerous instrument in the hands of the ambitious, for it leads to the enslavement of weaker persons. Just as a steel blade may be used as a dagger to stab an enemy or as a knife to cut an edible fruit, work may be either a deadly weapon or a faithful servant of man. Under western methods of production work leads to concentration of power, and that is an unfailing proof that work in the West is misdirected into wrong channels. It does not matter whether the concentrated power is used for good or evil. If the means are bad, the end cannot justify them. Both under Capitalism and under communism, work aims at or results in concentration of power. In Capitalism power is concentrated in the hands of the Capitalist and in Communism in the hands of the few who run the State. Workers under such circumstances exist to work, man is regarded as made for work and he ends up by becoming a slave. He labours, and some one else gets the power his labour generates. Such work saps the life of man, and leaves him exhausted at the end of the day. This is the part played by work in all, so

called, industrially advanced countries of the world today The working man functions as "dumb driven cattle" All initiative is taken out of him , he becomes a cogwheel in the economic machinery With the deprivation of initiative, he loses interest and all sense of responsibility He ceases to think, and the more he gets into the meshes of the powerful, the less resisting power he possesses to escape from the disaster awaiting him

We need not dwell long on the second type It is essential within limits Play has its place in a well ordered life, but if it assumes the place of a main objective in life, then, "all play and no work will make Jack a dull boy" The lower strata of ancient Greece and Rome were slaves and passed out of existence as animals do The higher strata of society took to play and amusement and they developed physically but met with ultimate destruction morally and spiritually Human body needs drudgery Therefore where work is confined only to the pleasant part even the needed drudgery is given in a pleasant form as games This is the reason why we find the West has laid much emphasis on games such as tennis, cricket, football etc.

Cultural :

It is only in the last type that we find man at his best What builds our character is not the great decisions of life, but the solutions we come to on small

questions from day to day Work absorbs most of our waking hours, and many of the problems connected with work and our dealings with our fellow men are what determine the nature of our life Therefore, it behoves us to sit up and take note of what our work makes of us If we analyse world history correctly, we shall find that civilizations were what they were because of the nature of the economic life of the people Religion may have infused ideals, but, work was the laboratory in which they were tried out Therefore, work can play a much wider part in the development and growth of a nation than institutional or ceremonial religion, and yet how much conscious thought do leaders bestow on this formidable force? Properly directed, work affords facilities for the development of patience, perseverance, initiative, creativeness and originality and with it self-confidence, a sense of responsibility, accuracy and eye for detail and fine finish Work is indeed a school for life What food is to the body that work is to the faculties of man

In both Capitalism and Communism, or as a matter of that, in all large scale production, the worker becomes a mere hand where head and heart are hardly exercised In such economic organisations, culture has to be acquired outside work, so far as this is possible Psychologically, this is an altogether artificial way of introducing culture into people who have been deprived of it through the natural channel of work If this is to be rectified and work be made a means of obtaining

culture, or in other words a means of developing one's personality in all its three aspects of intelligence, character and artistic sense, then it is obvious that work cannot be planned and dictated from the centre, but must be decentralised. In this undertaking of setting work back in its rightful place, the greatest difficulty is to overcome the ideas that have been instilled into the people by a false system of education inculcating wrong standards of value. The Village Industries Association which seeks to restore work to its proper place in the life of the nation has therefore to work against great odds. It has not only to change the present day ideology in regard to work—a matter which cannot be done in a day—but it has also to provide new methods of work. Inventions reflect the mental attitude with which problems are approached. As already said, in the last two centuries, machinery has been so devised as to concentrate power. We have to discountenance the use of such aids to production but in time we hope to substitute these by such tools as will lessen drudgery without concentrating power.

A greater achievement will be to combat the prevailing idea of work and instil into peoples' minds that work must have as its end the well-being of the worker.

In work of the type ordained by nature, there is little use for so-called leisure. People will find it much easier to spend their time working under congenial conditions than to use leisure profitably. To use leisure

properly, one has to have a high degree of self-discipline which is one of the valuable products of true work If in the course of our daily work we get ample room for the expression of our personality, then, there will be no need for leisure Of course, there will be physical weariness which is healthy and which needs repose and relaxation in sleep and rest

The moment we shift the emphasis from men to the material, we lose sight of the true function of work If in a training institution young men spend their efforts in handling planes, hammer and chisel, they may waste wood but they are developing their muscles and skill On the other hand, if they are made to feed sawing machines and to use their time in producing fine furniture by elaborate machinery, the emphasis is on material gain and not on the training Is finely carved and finished furniture more important than the skill of the young men ?

If we would save man from being degraded into a beast or an automaton, we have to face this situation and find a solution, wherein work will cease to be a means of concentrating wealth and power but will become a means of distributing wealth If this is achieved, there will not be the meteoric careers of millionaires but we shall have a few more annas put into the pockets of the starving millions This will increase the real wealth of the nation even if the money value be the same If one lakh of rupees be concentrated in the hands of one person, the utility of that

amount to the person who possesses it is as nothing as compared to the utility of the same one lakh, if it were distributed among one hundred thousand poor people and found them their daily bread To-day all work is directed towards producing the articles by which the largest profits can be made rather than to meeting man's primary requirements , Therefore the poor man's needs are forgotten while there is a glut in the rich man's luxuries

The idea that production should aim at supplying the needs of the worker rather than at aquiring wealth or power is what underlies the programme of the Village Industries Association which concentrates its attention on industries that meet the primary needs of the people such as the production ef articles of food, clothing and shelter This is again seen in the All India Spinners' Association's programme of self sufficiency under which the spinners have to provide themselves with clothing out of their own spinning

From our point of view, any wrong use of work is sin and causes sorrow Western organisations have, as repeatedly pointed out, looked upon work as a means of accumulating wealth i e gathering in the available purchasing power from everybody to obtain control over the lives of men This has naturally led to jealousies and violence Can anything else be expected ? Unless we bestir ourselves and restore work to its proper place and man to his natural dignity and allow work to develop the masses, there is little hope of finding persons

who will be able to bear responsibility and steer the helm of state to peace and prosperity

Fatigue

If only we can detach ourselves from the turmoil of the modern world, we shall see clearly the havoc caused by the unnatural "pack type" of organisation. If the urge is from within, his word should leave the worker a better man. Nature has so planned it that we improve by working if our work follows the natural order. For example, if a person who has the talents of an artist is made to drive a car, it will be disastrous to the occupants of that car. He will only attain his full height if he is allowed to follow his natural inclination. We can tell by the effect work produces on a person if he is in his proper place. But when we look at the workers under the "pack type", what do we find? Are they better human beings for their toil? On the contrary, we find a set of men and women whose life and energy have been sapped. The diagnosis is simple. There is a parasite feeding on their lives. They suffer from nervous disorders as we have already noted in the second chapter. Therefore, their method of production is unnatural and must lead ultimately to decay and destruction.

What, we have to ask ourselves, is all this pressure of life for? The "pack type" believes in increasing the standard of living. What does this mean but a

hankering after an extension of its market? If by a higher standard of life is meant increasing the multiplicity of wants, has this, as is so often claimed, brought about happiness or freedom from drudgery? Has the working woman in England with her "higher standard of life" exemplified by a carpeted floor and a larger house with furniture, any greater freedom from drudgery than her Indian sister with a cowdunged floor and a charpai? If anything, the English working woman has perhaps a greater amount of everyday drudgery, for the carpets have to be brushed, the dishes and plates washed and wiped, while the furniture and glass windows need dusting and polishing, and her linen has to be washed and ironed. Has she not in reality increased her drudgery? Is her happiness any greater? One thing, however, her higher standard of life has assuredly done. It has created a demand for the capitalist's production. More building and furnishing materials are sold, there is a demand for vacuum cleaners to clean carpets and so on. Is not then even consumption under the "pack type" an enslavement to drudgery? The greater our material possessions, the greater our bondage to earth. The advocate of a "higher standard of life" will do well to realise that he is an agent for the sale of the capitalist's goods. We lead such artificial lives under the "pack type" that we lose sight of the natural order of things and thereby fall an easy prey to the wiles of exploiters.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLACE OF WOMEN

While man possesses initiative in a great measure and is venturesome, woman is by nature much more conservative and conventional. Generally speaking, man is objective while woman is subjective. If we may use such an analogy, man may be said to belong to the "pack" and woman to the "herd" type. This being so, each sex partakes of the characteristics of its type. We noted that Eastern men whom we regard as falling under the "herd" type do not follow leadership easily in committees and such like. Women find it even more difficult than men to work in committees. Because of the "herd" type mentality, they are conventional, and religion and social customs appeal to them more than to men. In the same way, Eastern men are said to be more religious and obey convention and regulation more readily than men of the West for the "herd" type is more law-abiding than the "pack" type. Even in the "pack" type, woman is less self-centred than man, for her love covers the family.

Hence in all matters requiring the qualities of the "pack" type man is better suited to take the lead where initiative and adventure are necessary.

The present system of production does not take into consideration the role that is assigned to women by nature. It will be generally admitted that by their very

make-up they are the custodians of a nation's culture and project into the future the achievements of the present generation. In primitive time consumption was controlled by women, while supplies were in the hands of men. If women did the cooking, men provided food materials. If women needed a home, men provided the wherewithal in the form of bamboos, thatch, mud walls etc. In the language of economics the woman was the creator of demand and the man's place was that of the supplier. As evolution advanced under the "herd" type, woman was given a place in the social control of production, and thus the rules of conduct and regulatory machinery were provided for. We find even to-day in India, in spite of the deplorable state of culture and the depth of ignorance and superstition to which women have sunk in our country, that they still play an overwhelming part in the everyday life of the nation. However advanced in his views and however cultured a man may be, it is often his wife's superstition and ignorance that rules the home and he pleads his inability to go against the dictates of the mother or wife. This is one of the main reasons why even-though a large number of Indian men have acquired modern ways of living, yet their homes are often to be found in insanitary and unhygienic conditions. Unless women are culturally equal to men, there will be a disparity and social life will follow the level of development of women. It will be next to impossible for men to put their ideas into practice unless their womenfolk

also see eye to eye with them Nature has endowed women with certain faculties which are largely dormant in man, such as intuition Hence their contribution in the economic sphere is bound to be different and the role they play will be distinct and will not overlap

In the "pack type" woman's place in the economic sphere was largely ignored Under the dynasty of might she was merely a cave man's captive and her sexual allurements have made and unmade empires Under the dynasty of finance she became the emblem of the social status of the financier In her dress and manners she displayed the ostentatious mode of life made possible by necessary appurtenances drawn from all parts of the world Her main function seemed to be to fight for such social rights as befitted the income of her man With the advent of the machine, she fell further and become either, a mannequin advertising the wares of machine production which she began to consume as a result of high pressure salesmanship, or she became "emancipated" to the extent that she entered factories as a producing hand, where the machine-owner exploited her lack of staying power by giving her lower wages When labour came into power, she was assigned an equal place with man as a producer But in all these various forms of "pack type" economic organisations she has not found the true place assigned to her by nature as the creator of demand and the custodian of national culture Machine owners produce articles and suggest to women that they should consume

them and women have been following fashions blindly and by readily walking into this trap have become mere consumers To-day, whatever may be the claim for equality of the sexes and whatever may be the result of enfranchisement of women in the political sphere, they remain an excellent market for the consumption of machine made goods They have abdicated their natural role to the profit motive which has now ascended the throne It alone directs economic production and has assumed the part that should have been played by women had they realised their true calling Man is working single-handed in the economic sphere as a supplier without the aid of his partner who should have by her demand laid down the lines on which production should proceed The enormous maladjustment we find in the world to-day is in no small measure due to women not occupying their proper place in the economic sphere Even in the "pack type", unless woman assumes her rightful place and dethrones the profit motive, there will be no hope for a natural order of economic production. Once, however, women take their proper place, the subsidiary activities dependent on the home will fall into proper alignment and this will surely lead to human progress.

Woman has proved herself an easy prey to psychological suggestions made by advertisers If women will assert themselves and become discriminating buyers, even if they do nothing else, we shall find a transformation in the variety of goods produced After

all the bulk of the commodities produced and put on the market are for the home and therefore come within the purview of the woman who is the home maker When women come into their own and play their role well, we shall realise fully the truth in the old adage that the hand that rocks the cradle rules the world

CHAPTER VII

INTERNATIONAL STRIFE

In primitive days violence attached to hunting and fishing and to disputes over the sharing of property In the "pack type" aggression constitutes an essential feature. In the dynasty of might it forms the very basis for its successful working, the motive urge being personal aggrandisement, expansion and extension of rights, achievement of personal ambition or wreaking vengeance on an adversary

Centralisation and himsa

In the dynasty of finance, might and finance entered into partnership and bred imperialism An armed power was necessary to maintain, safeguard and expand distant fields for the investment of capital from which good interest could be drawn In the machine age, because of the heavy investment entailed in the instruments of production, it became necessary to produce as much as possible in a limited time because, if the machinery were allowed to be idle, the overhead charges which are a constant factor would assume a larger proportion of the cost of the finished articles. To reduce this it had to be distributed over as large a quantity of goods as possible Therefore, the incentive for large production without regard to the existing market is in the very nature of a system of production based on expensive tools or instruments

In addition to this, when individualistic control and free trade doctrines are promulgated, the desire for competitive production tends towards production without relation to the market. In both these cases it becomes necessary to find markets for the supplies that have been created. There is also the need to control distant raw material sources to enable the producer to obtain a steady flow of raw material. Division of labour is carried to an extreme. Therefore to produce under this system one has to conquer time and space because the whole economic unit from the production of raw materials to the consumption of the finished article covers the whole world. Unless the control of all the contributing factors is obtained so as to ensure a steady supply of raw materials at a speed demanded by the technical requirements of the plant and machinery for production at an economic speed and to ensure the disposal of goods so produced on profitable terms within reasonable time, no nation can be industrialised. Such control can only be secured by resorting to violence.

For instance, if Lancashire has to produce cloth, the mill itself is situated in Lancashire, where no cotton is grown. This mill forms the centre round which the whole world is made to rotate and subserve its purpose. The agricultural college in India investigates the kind of soil in which the type of cotton required by the mill can be grown. The researches of the college are directed towards producing by cross breeding and the like, the quality of cotton which will give the best results for the

mill The farmers who may be cultivating food crops have to be induced to shift to cotton growing When the cotton is grown, transport with favourable rates of freight to the ports has to be provided At the port, facilities for loading in the form of quays and wharves have to be built. The shipping has to be regulated and safeguarded with naval bases at Singapore and fortresses at Aden and Gibralter To man these the army, the navy and the air force have to be maintained Such centralised methods of production cannot be carried on for one day without the backing of the army, the navy and the air force This Lancashire mill is an integral part of a world-wide organisation It is, therefore, imperative to control the agricultural colleges, the farmers, taxation, the railways, shipping routes etc This cannot be done without the political domination of India and the routes that lead to it This is on the production side The organisation does not end there

A nation that is industrialised depends for its very existence on its sources of raw material and on markets for its finished articles The control of these forms a veritable struggle for existence These factors lead to the need for obtaining and retaining markets which end can only be achieved by keeping down or controlling other people by force. Anyone who interferes with the raw material source or with the market is like a person trying to snatch a bone from a hungry dog. Such interference leads to violence. In the case of labour organisations of production, because the power, control,

and planning are centralised a considerable amount of sanctions are needed for proper carrying out of plans. The urge for production being external and not from within is unnatural and therefore needs coercion and violence Regulation is by force and the system itself being run much on the lines of capitalistic and individualistic methods of production can be converted at a moment's notice into any of the other forms of the "pack type" Hence it attracts the attention of highly armed nations and as a means of protection it involves large scale armaments

It is because of these reasons that at the present time Western nations are finding it impossible to bring about a peaceful regulation of affairs All wars and international disturbances to-day have their roots in the "pack type" economic systems of production and as long as these exist, it follows as the effect the cause that there must be and will be war No amount of agreement between nations, however well-meant, will lead to disarmament We have seen the impotency of the resolutions passed by the League of Nations In effect, this league has become a league of wolf-packs and cannot be converted into anything else so long as international relations are based on the present economic structure If we in India also follow these types of economic organisation, it will be next to impossible for us to avoid the consequences of such systems Unfortunately, Japan has deviated from the "herd type" of economic organisation and has gone whole-heartedly into "pack type"

with the result that she has become as aggressive and imperialistic as any of the western nations "He who draws the sword will perish by the sword" Do we subscribe to the ideals that underlie methods of economic production as we see them in the West, or shall we evolve a type which will be different in its very nature from the "pack type" by following the lines that have been laid down by the civilisation that has grown up in our own country and has produced the "herd type" of economic order? In doing so it will not be necessary for us to follow in detail the original rules and regulations as they were made for a certain specific stage in evolution and will not suit our purposes in the modern world, but it will be possible for us to evolve an order which will curb individual greed, increase production in relation to demand and confine it as well as its marketing to the needs of the people

What is the situation in the world to-day? The world is surcharged with violence Nations are gnashing their teeth and snarling at each other under the cloak of armed neutrality and an ostensible "peace" There is hidden hatred and enmity in every hand stretched out in "brotherhood" All talk of championing weak nations is motivated by selfishness, greed and avarice Professions of a desire to civilize back-ward nations and to bring light and learning to those who sit in darkness are the excrescence of Imperialism In short, we see wolves stalking the land as lambs

We noticed that the movements of these dumb creatures are conditioned by search for food, and hunger is the urge behind their labours. They reap where they sowed not, they consume without producing. Their ferocity is increased in the same ratio as the scarcity of food. Or, in economic language, if such may be used, the intensity of the demand causes violence for supply is limited and competition for that which is available is sharpened.

The position is not very different when we come to man in the nomadic stage. He, like the animal, is not able to increase supply to meet the demand but moves about from scarcity to plenty, and anyone who stands in his way falls a prey to his wrath. His production, if any, is very limited and his consumption is predatory, nature being generally the victim. The directive force which fashions his movements could again be said to be hunger in a larger sense i.e. his very elementary and savage needs. He also finds that his demands are not always met by nature and when this is so there is competition and violence.

From the nomad we pass on to the agriculturist who, for the first time, tries to equate supply with demand by aiding nature i.e. by his production. Thus he is able to control supply. He is able to meet even his greater needs in the shape of food, clothing and shelter. He produces what he needs and consumes to his satisfaction. In this stage, as the diversity between

demand and supply is not great, competition is curbed. There is no unwholesome pressure to increase consumption artificially and hence, the generation of violence is lessened. Supply follows demand and the production is to order i.e. definitely directed towards satisfying an existing need. We may call it a "bespoken economic order". A man needs a pair of shoes and these are made especially to fit his feet and their shape. Only in this manner can the demand be fully satisfied. The ability or the ingenuity of the producer expands with the exacting nature of the demand and leads to the development of his skill and personality, and thereby contributes to the culture of the age. As long as the producer rises equal to the occasion and satisfies the demand there is no room for violence. Every one eats of his vine and of his fig tree and drinks the waters of his cistern and there is peace in the land.

In the "pack type" the nomad's dependence on nature is forgotten. The agriculturist's attempt to supplement nature is carried to the other extreme and man celebrates his "conquest" over nature. Nature's forces are harnessed to serve man. Various devices to aid man in his activities have been invented. But here again he has overreached himself and the machine that was intended to be a servant has become the master, thus reducing the bulk of mankind to abject slavery. Supply has made larger strides than demand. In the earlier stages the struggle was to increase the supply. Now overproduction loudly calls for an increase in

demand Machinery spells standardisation and large scale production Even then this does not meet the demand correctly A man in Bombay wants a pair of shoes He goes into a shop and he is presented with footwear made in Northampton by a shoemaker who has never set eyes on the customer The shoe manufacturer makes standard sizes and without trouble he easily multiplies the numbers He does not wait for orders Like Pat-a-cake, the baker's man, he makes them as fast as he can and ships them to various parts of the world for sale The supply comes into existence without knowledge of the extent of the demand and then, perforce, the producer has to try and create it The barefooted natives have to be "civilised" in order to be made to wear European shoes This leads to violence Again, in an industry like the steel industry powerful vested interests influence the Government to find outlets for their products The Government seeks out "backward" peoples and builds railways and bridges for them while the children of the "backward" peoples are starving both physically and mentally All these standardised products can be turned out in large quantities without much extra cost and markets have to be found for these supplies Such a state of things naturally leads to violence Still worse is the case of the manufacturer of armaments (like the late Sir Basil Zaharoff,) who is obviously interested in nurturing belligerent conditions which make for a boom period in his business Violence is the very essence of his success In the past,

the directive forces which stimulated economic activity were the natural hunger of the savage and the nomad and the discomforts of the sensitive body of the agriculturist. These were nature's urge or goad. But now we have artificially increased demand by habits cultivated by imitation or custom, so that the excess in production may be absorbed. Food, clothing and shelter were nature's demand but tobacco, lipstick, rouge and face powder are examples of the demand cultivated by imitation and custom. In many cases even if the consumer is indifferent, the producer, by modern methods of advertisement and other means of propaganda, persuades the public to use that which is unnecessary and has no real utility and may be even harmful but makes business for himself by the sale of his goods.

Thus we notice that the forces that formerly directed economic activity have shifted from the purpose of making good the shortage of supply to meeting the shortage of demand or, in other words, over-production.

Supply and Demand and Himsa

A study of history teaches us that when a people's demand is too difficult of satisfaction, their culture and civilization die. This situation may arise either by their inability to produce as in the case of the Red Indians of America, or in the degeneration of the race as is seen in the downfall of every great empire. In the latter case,

supply is increased by booty, loot and the exploitation of captured races as slaves, actually or constructively To consume such predatory wealth the standards of life are artificially increased Consumption takes place without production Before long, such a civilization collapses as it has no back bone Predatory consumption is not conducive to growth but undermines the stamina of the people A nation can flourish only as long as its demand can be met by its productivity When there is not much disparity between demand and supply, the nation advances culturally India, China and Egypt have to look back to the days of their agricultural civilization for the heyday of their cultures In the west, the Industrial age produced a transitory culture during the mid Victorian era, but it was not long before the supply went far ahead of the demand and steeped the world in that barbarism and despair wherein we find ourselves today Indeed we can boast of knowledge and the advance of Science but that it is not true culture The pressure of life to-day is not conducive thereto. There is no true leisure We have to equate our supply and demand but not artificially Until we are able to do this, violence will stalk the land At present we are in a state of unstable equilibrium and our "civilization", such as it is, may topple over any moment

We must inevitably check the artificial creation of demand This cuts at the root of all imperialism People have to evolve their own culture after their own fashion without any attempt on the part of the outsider

to "bring civilization to backward peoples" Avarice, as a motive for production, has to be curbed and the extent of each person's economic activity has to be limited to his capacity in such a way that the weaker members are not exploited Under capitalism, profit motive is allowed free play without regard to any other consideration Goods are produced for immediate gain and in a manner which gleans the profits into a few pockets only This leads to a shortage of necessities, over production of luxuries and maldistribution of wealth, while the masses are reduced to undernourished machine feeders This state of affairs has generated class consciousness resulting in the conflict of Capital and Labour On the other hand, Soviet Communism has given up the profit motive but has intensified class hatred Its working has resulted in a greater concentration of power than under capitalism where we get a concentration of wealth which is a lesser evil The workers have little initiative which is a pre-requisite for the formation of any culture We should not aim at producing a standardised man or a Robot but at developing the individuality of persons however many may be their inconsistencies and incongruities Material advancement is worth nothing when it is obtained either at the cost of the individual's personality, or at the cost of bringing about class hatred

The production of supplies without reference to existing demands has created a complexity of circumstances To dispose of the excess production, markets

have to be found Competition has assumed a keenness never before known To increase the consumers i.e the demand, it was necessary to complicate the lives of simple folks or to "civilize" them The eagerness to capture markets and "civilize" backward peoples has led not only jealousies between industrialised nations but also to resistance on the part of the victims and these have, in their turn, led to armaments and violence on a scale in keeping with large scale production which is the root of the trouble In this turmoil there can be no room for real culture as all energies are concentrated either on feeding violence or on combating it

Thus violence is the centre of the present organisation or the foundation stone of the economic structure to-day But it does not stop there The ones who enjoy the pleasures through such dissection of work are not the masses These common people will not take to violence naturally unless their understanding is warped and their sensitiveness blunted by a deliberate false propaganda To achieve this it becomes necessary to glorify violence This is done by giving a social status to those who are employed in applying violence on a "scientific" and mass scale and giving such violence religious recognition A general, an admiral or any officers in the forces is given a social standing to obtain the respect of the common people Memorials to such men when dead or placed in a place of worship to associate them with the saints and they are made national heroes by erecting of public statues and tombs,

Violence Glorified:

We should regard army men as scientific murderers and generals and admirals as arch-murderers If we went into St Paul's Cathedral or the Westminister Abbey we shall see the monuments there to these arch murderers They have made the house of prayer into a den of arch murderers When we see the tattered banners of many a battle decorating those sacred walls do we not hear the reverberation of the echo of the two thousand year old cry "away with this man, release unto us Barabbas"?

It is such "cultures" we find in Europe in battle array growling at each other at the present moment What does this appeal to might mean? Is this to make the world safe for democracy? Or is it a war to end war? We can no more cast out devils through the Prince of devils All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword What is all this degradation of the soul of man for? It is to get raw materials and to control markets

PART III

The Solution

CHAPTER VIII

INDUSTRIALISATION

Agriculture had, as its complement in the past, various kinds of subsidiary handicrafts. In many industries payments were made to artisans in kind from agricultural products. In fact such industries as were in existence were but the workshop of the farmers for supplying their tools, implements and other necessaries.

With the advance of civilization, daily requirements increased in quality, quantity and variety. To supply these, artisans carried on their trade until recent years in the vicinity of towns in the form in which it had been carried on in the past. The producer required little or no capital apart from what was needed for his simple tools, and even these, he often made himself. The question of marketing had not assumed the dignity of a problem. As there was a very small percentage of profits, the accumulation of capital was slow. Because of the existence of various industries and the rigidity of the division of labour as practised under the caste system the pressure on the land was comparatively little.

Disruption of India

With the industrialisation of Western countries, all this changed. India was turned into a market for goods from the West and utilised as an opportunity for the development of their industries. For instance, while the pressing need of India was canals for irrigation and transport, railways were built to afford opportunities of development for the then growing steel industry of England as also for strategic considerations. On this account the various complementary and supplementary industries disappeared and those who were practising such industries fell back on the land, thereby increasing the pressure there. If we aim at relieving this pressure, we must divert off a large percentage of the population to other occupations. Further, the glamour of English education as introduced by Macaulay, drew away to towns and cities those who would have, in the ordinary course of events, supplied to the village the initiative, the imagination and the technique required in every industry. Thus the village was left mainly with the drudge to carry on his occupation according to age-old methods.

Under the influence of capitalism, people have come to believe that price is all that matters. As the directing power under capitalism is the profit motive, all the emphasis in life is placed on money values. In our ancient organisation, however, values were otherwise determined. The richest of men and princes fell at the

feet of a saint The Brahmin was at the head of all castes and not the Bania The Kshatriya paid his homage to the savant Even ordinarily, does a woman buy a thing just because it is the cheapest? If a flimsy silk with a beautiful pattern is offered at a higher price along side of a coarse and durable material at a lower price, will she not choose the one with the beautiful pattern? What is the standard of value she uses? Not the price nor durability nor the quality of the material but the aesthetic value At least in India, who will allow his brother and his family to starve, and with money so saved, buy finery for himself? Does money value guide his decision or do love and duty? We had evolved a sense of values based on human considerations and it is quite within the range of possibility to revive it in our country

If village life is to be resuscitated, it will be imperative for men of high calibre, with the requisite initiative and imagination, to live in villages and solve rural problems with the help also of modern scientific methods This is a process which requires considerable amount of re-adjustment in our society as organised at present Mere mechanical re-adjustment may relieve the situation immediately but no proper or lasting solution will be found unless we plan a new order based on evolution in human thought and action Mere introduction of large scale machinery, for example, as is used in the West, will not solve the problem Such methods have been tried in various industries and have proved an

utter failure For instance, if instead of hand-looms we introduce power-looms for weaving saris, we are at once confronted with a variety of problems which complicate rather than remove our original difficulties. Let us assume that the power-loom is four times as efficient as the hand-loom so far as production goes Let us assume also that the hand-loom weaver used to make about 150 saris in a year most of which would normally be marketed during the marriage season The loom itself might cost in the neighbourhood of Rs 75-0-0 and if the saris on an average cost about Rs 4-0-0 each, he could carry on his trade with a small capital of about Rs 300-0-0 The moment we introduce power-looms, his production becomes 600 saris per year The market does not extend 4 times as quickly, for we cannot, for the benefit of the weavers, have four marriage seasons in the year The result is, that with a more or less stationary market, he requires Rs 2,400 to produce his stuff and the loom itself would cost about Rs 800-0-0 Instead of a capital of Rs 300-0-0 he now requires a capital in the neighbourhood of Rs 3,000-0-0 and even then he would have all his capital locked up until the marriage season This situation results in competition and forced selling in order to recover his capital and capture as much of the market as he can Usually the type of man who has been a hand-loom weaver does not possess the requisite, capital and he either gets into the hands of the money lender or has to sell out A four-fold increase of production also requires the qualities in

the man to be made four times keener Under the Western individualistic type of civilization people combine for purposes of economic activity In our own forms of culture the combination is only for consolidating our position and safeguarding the interest of the weaker ones Therefore it is that we often find that the methods of co-operative production as introduced by Westerners do not work in our country, the human element not being suited to them

If in the illustration we have assumed, the situation continues as depicted, in time the hand-loom weavers will all be out of business and so will the single unit power loom weavers and their business will drift into the hands of capitalists The weavers will then become machine feeders or factory hands and we shall be reproducing in our country all the attendant evils of industrialised factory methods that we find in the West, culminating in war and violence

Production and Distribution

Besides, under capitalistic methods of production, the introduction of large scale machinery has not solved the question of unemployment Countries like England and America which have been highly industrialised for several decades suffer acutely from unemployment Large scale machinery was a result of forced circumstances in America, where man was up against natural difficulties such as long distances, vast water courses,

lofty mountains and scarcity of labour To overcome these he had to grow, as it were, extra hands in the form of machinery Therefore the function that machinery played was one of labour saving But in our country and in all well settled countries, labour itself is the best means of distribution of wealth If a man includes large scale machinery under his system of production, he over-weights the scale in his favour to that extent If we look upon labour as a means of distributing wealth, then, we cannot have much use for the type of machinery that has been evolved by Western civilization, and which has been invented with the basic idea of exploitation and, therefore, the worker is not taken into consideration Instead of distributing wealth, such machinery concentrates it in the hands of a few The type we need is a simple machinery which will be within the means of the average producer in India and which will be such as will minimise drudgery and increase the efficiency of the individual but at the same time will not provide room for exploitation

If production itself is a means of distribution of wealth, then, the larger number of producers we have the more evenly will wealth be distributed It is not conceivable that any nation can become a nation of millionaires, so if wealth in our country is to be distributed amongst the masses, the means of production should be within the reach of all. In planning

such an industrial organisation, we do not aspire to produce men with incomes running into five and six figures, but to supply food and shelter to everybody There is no objection to machinery as such If there is any objection, it is to such machinery as has been devised to concentrate the profits into a few hands

Labour as an entity

In Western industrial organisation, the interest of the producer himself does not figure as an end, but in any system that we produce, we must keep as our central aim the welfare and the well-being of the producer and his family In the West even where labour has evolved its own organisation, the emphasis is largely on the material rather than on the human element As against this, it must be remembered that it is not the multitude of things that we possess that makes us happy. In the "pack type", whether under capitalism or under communism, it is thought that however soulless one's work may be, it is possible to supply this lack by devoting some time outside the factory for cultural development Culture, of the true type, however, cannot be thus separated from our daily work Work makes us what we are and develops the dormant qualities within us Nothing else will enable a man to realise his true self A man who spends his entire life in an occupation which involves his merely carrying out the orders of others cannot even hope to develop a

sense of responsibility Without initiative, there can be no development of personality, much less of any abiding form of culture The system of production itself must form part of life and make life worth living Under the centralised industrial system, production has become a nerve-racking process We should look upon production as a continuation of the schooling of our youth It should possess character building qualities as well as afford an education to the producer If this can be carried out, though the material welfare of the people may not be on a par with the plutocrats of the West, yet the general level of happiness will be much greater and it will produce a nation of higher average intelligence and character, which in its turn will be a profitable reservoir from which leaders can be drawn

Planned economy, on the other hand, emphasises the material production rather than the development of the individual To enforce the plan, it is necessary to resort to violence. Such production is not natural and, therefore, cannot be lasting

When power gets concentrated in the hands of a few, initiative ceases, and man is dwarfed Such a system must lead ultimately to a form of slavery merely for the purpose of obtaining material goods

It is commonly suggested that it is possible to afford opportunities for culture by means of providing leisure under the "pack type" system, if the hours of

work are restricted. Is this possible? If the U.S.A. labourers can content themselves with the standard of life prevailing in India by working for two hours a day only, will they devote their leisure to cultural pursuits? In all probability instead of doing this they will idle away their time and thus be led into demoralisation and decay.

Capitalism predatory.

The gilded homes of the capitalists of Britain seem to lead people to imagine that by industrialisation all poverty can be banished. Industrialisation requires much capital if it is to be broad-based. We can get all the needed capital for a few sugar mills or a few steel plants but that does not industrialise the country. The impetus that Britain got was predatory. But for the transfer of hoards of wealth from our land, such industrialisation would have been impossible. There can be no industrialisation without predation, as the needed capital cannot be accumulated out of individual efforts within a life time. Britain is still at the breasts of India. If the infant is hefty, credit is due to the mother's milk. What will happen when the infant has to be weaned and has to forage for himself? The new Russia is still a babe in the life of nations and she has her store of confiscated wealth to feed on for some centuries more. Industrialisation on a national scale has not been achieved anywhere as yet. It seems an impossibility without predation and, therefore, without violence.

In both capitalism and communism, then, there is room and need for violence, and great concentration of power in a few hands. Because of their failure to establish a healthy equilibrium between supply and demand, we are led to advocate individual units of production rather than collective units. This adjustment in itself will reduce the excess of supplies. Markets should be localised and only the surplus, after satisfying local needs, ought to find distant markets.

The present economic system reminds one of old time steamers which could be sunk by springing one hole in the hull, but modern steamers have watertight compartments which prevent the ship from sinking, even if a part is damaged. Similarly, when over-production and the market are not centralised, the dangers of the system, as a whole, coming to grief are few. In such a decentralised system the danger of violence too is greatly minimised.

Centralisation

We must, of course, have a place for centralised production but it must be only for the purposes of public utilities which should be under either collective or co-operative control. Undertakings such as telephones, telegraphs, roads, postal services, supply of water, exploitation of forests and mines will all naturally come within the scope of the state. We cannot allow private exploitation in these undertakings. The main objection

to social ownership and management for commodity production is that under such conditions progress will be retarded. But if social control can take care of the size and capacity of the units of production exploitation can be minimised. As long as human nature is what it is, it will be impracticable to abolish exploitation altogether. Exploitation and violence in some form or other will be there. Our eating and breathing is full of violence and exploitation. Our purpose, however, should be to minimise these in keeping with human existence and progress. Under the conditions we propose there will be a natural limit to the capacity of an individual to produce. And this, in its turn, will limit maldistribution of wealth. So long as individuals differ one from another, the quantity and the quality of production of the individual will also differ. That is, the income will differ, but the range of difference will be limited. We can think of differences in annual income ranging in hundreds or thousands but we cannot have incomes running into millions without involving an unhampered exploitation of thousands. Finance, trading, marketing etc can also function in a co-operatively managed organisation and therefore there need be no fear of unlimited private wealth.

Under the form of state control which we advocate, the transition may not be sudden and spectacular, our methods will be slow and will take time to permeate through the nation. We have to have patience if we are

aiming at permanence. While disestablishing private property by a stroke of the pen by legislation may be violent, gradual curtailment of private ownership by limiting productive capacity under state control will not necessarily spell violence. In our own country, in the past as well as in the present, a great many functions were and still are under social control and society decides on the merits or demerits of certain cases. There may be abuses in this system, but it does indicate the possibility of subjecting our people to group discipline by social control

CHAPTER IX

BARTER EXCHANGE

With the progress of civilization, division of labour becomes inevitable, but there is a limit beyond which, if it is carried, it will lead to deterioration and inefficiency. The throat specialist who ignores the human constitution behind it and deals with one organ alone and without taking into consideration the whole body visualises a monster, is bound to be a failure. We cannot let division of labour be carried to an extreme, forgetting the setting and the personality of the worker. Even within such limits division of labour calls for an exchange of goods. Such exchange can only be healthy if it results in mutual benefit. That is the basis of all legitimate trade.

Exchange as an End:

In the simplest form goods exchange for goods. A producer-consumer meets a consumer-producer, that is barter. As the market expands and trade advances in complexity, there arises a need for a medium to facilitate this exchange. This brought into being tokens, or other commodities or a standard metal as media and ultimately resulted in the money economy we are labouring under. Exchange itself has now become a source of profit. The means has been turned into an end by the present form of money.

Metal coins which have a commodity value in themselves are imperishable, while consumable goods, for which they are used as substitutes in the process of exchange depreciate with time. A seller of plantains has not the same bargaining power as the metal owner. The plantains will soon rot and so he has to come to terms quickly. But the money owner can afford to wait as he can hold on to money any length of time. Hence the power of bargaining rests with the possessor of the imperishable metal coins. Thus the seller labours under a disadvantage. This is turned into profit by the money owner. Herein is the incentive to hoard which naturally restricts consumption and thereby the circulation of money.

With a tendency to fall in price levels, over a period of time, metal money is an increasing burden to the debtor and growing wealth to the creditor. Thus it accentuates the existing inequality in the distribution of wealth.

Disparity between Production & Consumption

In addition to these inherent defects, the centralized methods of production which call for highly expensive equipment have also shut off money from circulation. The pay roll of production is not sufficient to buy goods produced for consumption as part of the purchasing power is kept back to provide capital renewals and reserves. This is one of the main reasons for the

present depression in the world. If the economic life of a people is to flow like a river that gathers strength as it flows, it is necessary that a great deal of facilities for consumption of goods produced have to be provided. This can be done only by releasing purchasing power and not by restricting it. On the shores of a fresh water lake of plenty, humanity is standing parched with thirst for the lack of a golden cup to drink out of. Under the capitalistic regime we have been taught not to approach the water without a golden cup in hand, and we have accepted the situation as the only possible way of quenching our thirst.

The present system is designed to satisfy only what is called by economists "the effective demand"—that is the man with the golden cup—and not the natural demand—that is the man with the parched throat.

Employment Cornered

To make matters worse, the credit facilities extended by banking organizations make more purchasing power available to production while consumption is starved further. By the clever designing of money economy the capitalist—the money monopolist—has cornered all the work available. He doles them out to the wage slaves. More and more, all industries are rapidly passing under financial control. Centralised methods of production call for heavy expense in plant

and machinery and he who is able to control such equipment controls the right to give employment

Money economy makes it easy to shift purchasing power from one place to another readily. A centralised government, like the Government of India, is always tempted to spend its revenues in towns and cities, thus it draws its revenues from villages and its expenditure enriches towns. The State also controls the quantity of money without an efficient check on the prices. All these go to make the poor man poorer and the rich man richer.

Effect on Villages

As our land is a land of villages, we have to see what effect such monetary system has on our farmers. When villagers exchange goods locally, the wealth of the village remains unaffected. Also, when the villager exchanges goods in the neighbourhood, there is no loss of wealth. But when the villages have to transfer their purchasing power for "services" which are never rendered nor for which there is any need, they become poor progressively. The former's voice is inaudible in the councils of the nation. He has no control over the spending of the purchasing power he transfers to the Government. Similarly, when he buys goods from foreign countries, there is no guarantee he gets a square deal. The frontiers are studded with hurdles he has to leap, and as he is not accustomed to these feats, he falls

a prey to the better equipped Farmers are as a rule in debt, and money economy increases such burdens with fall in prices He has many pitfalls The human tendency to gamble is exploited by middlemen by introducing money crops which if fatally speculative to those who have no reserves In time, they are reduced to the position of slaves to supply raw material to factories owned by capitalists They surrender their freedom for a little higher price and ultimately ruin themselves by going in for such crops instead of growing food and other materials for their own local industries Last June the papers carried the news that Rs 27 lakhs worth of sugarcane was to be destroyed in U P as the factories were not prepared to crush them and the farmers were unable to dispose of them due to difficulties created by human agency

Again, taxes which are to be paid in money take away a certain and definite quantity out of a very uncertain production If the Government accept their dues in kind, it will be beneficial to the farmers and villagers in many ways High pressure salesmanship and the artful ways of modern marketing methods make the farmer part with his purchasing power for that which does not satisfy They buy cheap foreign-made goods to their own detriment and unemployment Buying from distant markets without a free flow back from that market brings impoverishment and unemployment ultimately to the buyer himself Therefore we have to

restrict our buying to nearby producing centres until such time when there is fluidity in the market To-day talking of an International market, while discriminating freight rates, customs duties, national control of currencies and such like barriers are rampant, is an absurdity It is usually done to capture the unwary So let us beware and deal in nothing but locally produced goods

True Value and Motives.

All values of commodities depend on the productive capacity of the people ultimately Social need should be the criterion of value At present by our process of education, we have been taught to value everything from the point of view of money Human values have been lost sight of Labour itself is paid for as a commodity, not as a producer, and social status attaches to one who labours least but controls much purchasing power Under a proper standard of valuation, status in society should attach to service to community This wrong emphasis supplies a social motive for accumulation of wealth and results in a money monopoly and curbing of other people's liberty With the piling up of huge fortunes, it has been necessary to find outlets by international investments which culminate in wars Financial capitalism has ushered in this epoch of international money lending As long as this continues, we shall look in vain for peace As long as society attaches a position of honour to one who

controls purchasing power, the incentive to consume is curbed and ultimately leads to overproduction and economic depression

Money and War:

Production under money economy ignores social values and follows lines where largest profits are to be made Thus it is that we find the best brains engaged not in devising ways and means of supplying the needs of the people, but how one nation may hold another in subjection by the most modern methods of destruction Intensive research is directed into the field of gas bombs and other insidious methods of wholesale massacre The mechanism of price is yoked on to exploitation Production follows pecuniary gains and makes no effort to study the needs of the people We find in our own country the supply on necessities has made place for curio trades putting many out of employment Foreign trade is held up as the acme of civilization and a thing to strive for at all costs To do all this damage effectively, it was essential to mount the golden calf on a high pedestal The natural ratio of exchange between countries should be determined by the internal purchasing power of their respective currencies and not by any other means This has been proved beyond question since the dethroning of the gold standard in practice

Conclusion.

What then is our conclusion? We find that a great many evils and pitfalls await us if we blindly follow the yellow metal. We have to correlate the perishability of the consumable goods with the medium of exchange if we are to place both the buyer and the seller on an equal footing and encourage consumption. Encouraging consumption rather than hoarding will lead to better distribution of wealth. To do so, our ideas of values will have to be educated and reoriented from the standpoint of human progress as against individual profit. We have to restrict our markets to a great extent and avoid buying from distant places.

To give effect to the spirit of barter it is not necessary for us to wait till our monetary system has been reformed. The basic principle of barter is to reduce the chain of exchange and bring the producer and consumer together. Money economy has elongated the chain by forging several links between the producer and the consumer. We can effectively shorten the distance of supporting local industries. The smaller the circle the nearer to barter do we approximate and we ensure that the whole benefit of economic activity will rest with the community which produces and consumes. When we thus restrict our transactions to the locality, though we may be using coins, we shall be virtually basing our exchange on barter.

Too much planning in production surrenders the individual interests to an oligarchy. Today the problem is to direct consumption. In the course of the last century we have seen that production is capable of taking good care of itself.

Equality among nations can only be attained with economic independence. Inequality leads to war. What the propagandists call "Internationalism" is really a misnomer for "Supernationalism." It is such a supernationalism that the nations of Europe are striving for. Each wishes to be that supreme supernational. Hence the war preparation at a feverish heat that we witness. We can have no peace until this epoch of international lending is brought to an end and each nation restricts itself to its home markets. Money economy has carried us beyond our depths and extended the markets beyond control. Barter provides a ready means of restraining any tendency to run amuck.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION FOR LIFE

In the last analysis we are led to the conclusion that all problems radiate from education. We can solve our difficulties only by educating the people to view life from a common standpoint. Education is a master key that gives admission into all departments that make up life.

Meaning of Education:

What do we mean by education? It is a certain type of schooling that begins after a child reaches the age of five and finishes, according to the means the parents possess, when the child reaches youth. Is it merely literary, or occupational or utilitarian? Is it an end or a means? Has it a beginning? Has it a finishing? What we have to consider will depend upon the conception we have of education.

If education is to fit us for life—to make us better citizens, better husbands and better fathers, it has to be a continuous process from the cradle to the grave. Through all the changing scenes of life we ought to be able to pass with the least shock. If on the other hand education taught us only certain tricks which we could perform we should be completely at sea when a different set of circumstances confronted us. Education need not cramp our minds with facts and figures but it should give us an attitude towards life.

An educational system has to have a philosophy behind it and its purpose should be to elicit the best in an individual. Therefore the undertaking of education is a grave responsibility fraught with many dangers and we cannot launch out lightly upon any scheme without proper preparation and thought.

Unfortunately the system of spreading the art of reading and writing has been often identified with education. Nothing can be more grotesque. Reading and writing are means of acquiring culture but they are not the only means nor are they the most important means.

Education with a Purpose.

In most countries, at present, education has a definite purpose or goal. In capitalistic countries, the captains of industry look upon it as a nursery for their future executives and administrators. In socialist countries they harness it to increase material production. In militaristic nations education means a creation of a narrow patriotism.

In the First Stage of Imperialism.

In a bureaucracy like we have in our country it has been the provider of clerks. It was with this end that Macaulay enunciated the first principles of his educational system for our country. On these principles all our universities have been built since then. With what success this system has worked its havoc

we all know to our sorrow We need only look around to see the clerical mind in high places — Professors, Administrators, Lawyers, Judges and even acting Governors of provinces are drawn from mental training that befits clerks—those who are there are there to obey and carry out orders, Initiative and original thinking are decided disadvantages in a clerk To-day our country is filled with men with the clerical mind in all walks of life There is considerable truth in the statement that we are not fit to govern ourselves Directly in proportion to the measure in which we had taken advantage of the education provided in our universities have we become unfit to govern ourselves The university has been the means of creating in the best of us what is come to be known as an inferiority complex and diffidence in ourselves Clerks cannot govern themselves, they depend on the orders of others Tilaks and Gandhis have broken away from the trappings as they were naturally too great for the mental cage of clerks The production of English knowing clerks for the working of a well organised and disciplined system of Government is a primary requirement in the first stage of British Imperialism

In the Second Stage of Imperialism:

The second stage of Imperialism has now come With a settled Government the better exploitation of natural resources is the next step For this clerk-minded-men are useless. While a few may be absorbed

in the offices they will find themselves out of their element in workshops and factories as their physical faculties have been paralysed It is not practicable to get such men out from Great Britain It is better to train such foremen, fitters and machine men locally The literary education given so far is no good The system has got to be changed Before doing so an enquiry by expert educationist had to be conducted This is the work that has just been completed by Messrs Abbott and Wood.

In their report just published (Report on Vocational Education in India, by A Abbott and S H Wood) they hold that general education is the earlier and vocational education the later phases of a full system of education In fact they look upon vocational education as the extension of general education In this they are diametrically opposed to Gandhiji's views They advocate that vocational education should be given in full regard to the development of organised industry, industrialisation of the country and prosperity will then follow They acknowledge the futility of the present type of education to develop character They claim vocational training ought to make the pupil diligent, accurate, self reliant and resourceful and teach him to co-operate with others Their anxiety is not to cater for the managerial posts which can take care of themselves but to provide for the supervisory grades and the operative sections They say "the foreman holds in

fact the key to efficiency in production" Again they state "The pressing need of organised industry in India is not for any considerable addition to the supply of highly trained men looking for managerial posts after having had some experience of industry, but for better trained foremen" (P 63) Their whole view point is focussed on the better exploitation of the resources of the country and not on the training of the individual. They are also only considering the facilities to be given to the big man's business "While we firmly believe that it is right to begin the systematic expansion of the facilities for training the workers of various grades on whom the effective conduct of organised industry depends, we hope, that this expansion will not be so swift as to overtake that of organised industry itself". (P 42) Their interest in the welfare of the masses is nowhere visible The vocational training begins and ends with the needs of big industry Such education as this report suggests should be no concern of the Government The organised industries should be quite capable of looking after themselves and training such men as are needed for their working One would expect a committee on which public money is being spent would be required to suggest ways and means of improving the educational training of the largest number of workers. But the interest of the rural population is dismissed with the following quotation from the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1928) with which opinion their entire agreement is expressed "The chief solution of the problems

of the cultivator is the intensification or diversification of his agriculture " and that " the possibilities of improving the conditions of the rural population by the establishment of rural industries are extremely limited "

So this report appears to be a natural corollary to Macaulay's minute and follows logically from it

The Oriental Method.

In our own country, the system of education followed in the past was a training ground for life. A student chose his master and lived his everyday life under his master's watchful eye and imbibed the spirit of his guru. This was the case not merely with spiritual training but in every walk of life. The guru himself did not look upon teaching as a profession any more than a father looks upon his parental duties as a profession. The guru led his own life from which emanated his outlook on life and his disciple gleaned what he could from his practice. Jesus, when he chose his disciples said "follow me" and he did not give them a list of text books to read. They had to follow in their master's footsteps. That is our system of education.

The Occidental Way

According to Western ideas education is looked upon as a profession which is a glorified name for a trade. In India it has become a retail trade. The so called professors and teachers are there making a living

just as a petty shop-keeper gathers in his profits The petty shop-keeper buys his goods from the wholesaler and sells it to the consumer Similarly the Indian Professor of economics gets his goods from Marshal, Pigou or Government reports and retails it to his students Hence there need be no more love for the subject or the student than the shop-keeper has for the commodity he sells or for the buyer The profit or the salary is the power that attracts the professors or teachers If we make the remuneration just sufficient to meet the necessities of life how many will care for their jobs ? In the old system each village had lands set apart for its schools and thus the needs of the teacher were provided for To-day the mercenary educationalist needs as large a profit out of his business as a well-to-do merchant in a large city to attract him to the job This is altogether contrary to the ideals of true education as was found in our land

History of Educational Reform :

Reformers have recognised the anomaly but have not yet found a way out of it Over 15 years ago when the Civil Disobedience movement called out students from colleges and schools it revealed how futile the leaders considered was the education that was imparted Though we had nothing to replace the then existing system yet it was felt that the so called education given in the universities was worse than no education at all Remaining away from schools and colleges

was in itself a gain as we were abstaining from putting our youth through the clerical moulds provided for use by an alien government

After this first step attempts were made to give some kind of education. The various Vidyapiths sprang up. The main difference between the universities and these innovations lay in the choice of the media for imparting knowledge. Where English had the predominance now the provincial language came into its own. Apart from this the syllabus was little altered. Educationists were thinking hard as to the type that would be best suited to serve the needs of the nation. This resulted a few years later in introducing manual labour in the form of an industry or a handicraft. Gradually about half the time was spent in such labour and half in so called cultural subjects. This went on till a couple of years ago. This method of education produced men with more character but they could not be termed ideal villagers. These institutions were mostly in large towns and young men were being weaned from village life. The attractions of town life to an undeveloped youth were too strong to resist. The students after passing out of the Vidyapiths thought in terms of the country's needs but beyond propaganda and some organising they were not able to carry out much constructive work. They could only be birds of passage in villages. However much their influence counted for good it was not permanent.

When the A I V I A was started a need was felt for trained village workers. The methods of the Vidyapith were tried in vain. The need was to find men who would settle down the midst of villagers and shed their light around them so that they might be a source of inspiration and comfort to those whose lot is cast in rural areas. It was useless sending men with an inclination towards city life into villages. We needed true types of villagers trained to lead others by their example. It was imperative that our students should be ideal villagers leading the ordinary life of villagers. They should support themselves just as any other villager does by his own effort with the help of an industry. To this end our school was remodelled to give the student an opportunity to learn at least one industry by which he can support himself. This learning of one industry is the central feature but around this he has to be taught all other subjects. This in a greater measure contains the old principle of fitting a person for life. It is not yet time to examine the results of this experiment as it is only a few months since it came into operation. Every person influences for good or bad those around him. If we can so arrange that we are able to spread good influence by placing trained men in villages the problem will be solved to a great extent.

True Values.

1 Financial

Unfortunately, the present products of our universities have apishly followed the standards of living set before us by foreigners. These people are looked up to—rightly or wrongly—by villagers with disastrous results. False standards of value have been gaining ground in the remotest of villages. The villager has been attempting to live beyond his means in an effort to imitate the example of townsfolk. This has made him sink further into the quick sand of debt. His desire for imported finery is rapidly taking away all available forms of employment. The more foreign articles are bought the greater becomes our own unemployment and the deeper our poverty. Our education has to touch all walks of life in a village. We have to show by demonstration how a villager's life should be ordered. Standards of value have to be evolved and inculcated. They should be such as will lead to the welfare of the villagers.

2 Social

Our methods have become so far removed from the right path that our very life kills us. In trying to imitate the shadow we lose the substance. Not long ago I visited a seat of Sanskrit learning. I was pained to see how far they had drifted away from true culture. They would teach certain mantras to a particular sect of Brahmins. It is needless to say no Harijans were

allowed in the College Is this culture? Where are the true Brahmins in India, when we get our "education" from the British? Where are the Kshatriyas when we are under foreign domination? Where are the Vaishyas when the country is groaning under British exploitation? If there be a Brahmin, if there be a Kshatriya, if there be a Vaishya it is only the Britisher Is it not pathetic that in our degradation some of us, untouchables of the world, should pretend we are Brahmins and instead of carrying the torch of enlightenment to the remotest corners attempt to hide our light under a bushel? Can there be anything more heart rending than the pride and arrogance of these untouchable Brahmins of our land Learning ancient lore is no more culture, than vomiting in digesting As a cow eats grass and yields milk so also if we learn ancient lore and by contact with present day problems are able to convert that knowledge to practice and transform the evils of present society into good then only can we call it true culture There can be no culture without contact with relevant problems Much learning it is possible to have in a library but no culture That institution was making walking volumes of men but it cannot import culture as long as it keeps itself aloof from the world Such institutions are parasitic and should be wiped out of existence These are disease germs breeding centres of our educational system True education is above all castes and creeds It transcends man made bounds Until we recognise the dignity of all human beings we

shall be bound by so called "sacred threads" to death's-head and degradation Let us shake ourselves loose from such bondage If there be any who feels proud that he is a Brahmin may he know that India has to bow down her head in shame before the world because of such unnatural distinctions This idea of untouchability and the grades of respectability in caste are things which have to be jettisoned before the Goddess culture will deign to look at us

3 Economic ,

The close contact of western commerce has enshrined gold amongst us Our cultural values have yielded place to money values We have begun to think in terms of gold and not in terms of humanity The Brahmanical cultural standards have gone and the Bania civilization of the West has crept in The Brahmin was valued and respected not because of his possession but because of the service he was to render to society, without regard to the return he gets No educational system which does not place first things first is worthy of our attention Any attempt to educate the masses must include inculcation of true standards of financial, social and economic value above all things

Varied aspects of Life

Man is a complex being , we cannot divide him up into water-tight compartments and develop him in stages

Education which attends only to the intellectual development leaving aside the physical, moral and spiritual aspects is directed towards the production of monstrosities. If our aim is a true education we have to attend to all faculties at one and the same time. We have to develop a person physically, socially, mentally and spiritually. He has to learn an occupation, he has to learn how to live as a member of a community, he has to know how to evaluate men and matters. Unless all these are attempted we can have no education worth the name.

There is not a single action of ours that does not leave its indelible mark on us. Our work, our play, our pastime and our rest all have to be consciously planned out if the reactions have to be healthy socially. Training for work takes care of the major part of a worker's life. We spend most of our time in our economic activity. If it is so arranged that it develops our faculties and enriches our life in the process of producing goods, to that extent the nation will be better for it. Proper work will not wear out a nation but build it. The function of work should be to reduce to practice our ideal of life. Pure religion which begins and ends with ceremonial worship is superficial. If religion does not affect every act of ours, every moment of our life, it is futile. We have seen by our analysis of work in the chapter on the Function of Work the highly important role that work plays in developing the individual and

the race. If work can be so potent a force in developing the adult we can well harness it to develop the child.

Finance and Organisation:

The present system of Government finance which makes education depend upon the revenue from excise is a political strategy. It is fundamentally wrong in principle. We need not burn the thatching of the poor to prepare tea for the children of the middle classes. It impoverishes the poor, ruins their family life and destroys their character to add a little butter to the middle classes. No nation can march on to progress on the blood of its masses. It is better to do without such education than to murder the fathers and prostitute the mothers so that we may provide cheap clerks to the Government. Let us cry a halt and take stock of the situation. We shall then see our way clear to plan a healthy system of mass education which will create without destroying, produce health without death, add to our wealth without resorting to robbery. Let those of us who have received more than our share give freely to those who stand in need. Life is enriched not by what we possess but by what we give to others in a spirit of service. A well with a good spring becomes purer and purer by greater quantities of water being drawn from it.

We have to concentrate our efforts on the villages. University education can go overboard for a time without damaging the nation. As it is we are top heavy, we

have many more graduates than we need. These have also created a problem of unemployment as they are not products of the type of education we need. Otherwise there would be no difficulty in absorbing them. Our end must be to make our villagers more useful and efficient. It is not necessary to load them with much outside information. Radio and talkies though they may be helpful cannot be the main source of rural education. The amount spent on them is disproportionately high. The work must be an evolution from within the village and not an imposition from outside the community. Anything from outside will require to be propped up by artificial means but that which comes from within will develop true culture which will bind man to man, village to village and ultimately the country itself as one whole.

We need not place too much emphasis on the organisation to be brought into existence. When we pin our faith on organisations, however important they may be in themselves, we often lose sight of the personal influence, and the organisation tends to become expensive and wooden. Centralisation of education as in other spheres leads to too much control from those at a distance. Centralisation of education will lead to hide bound methods and standardisation which are fatal to true education. It is much better for the village teacher to work under the eyes of his neighbours. Therefore, it would seem better if each village can be made to

finance its own education by the old method of endowing lands to a Mandir dedicated to education. If such a system can have the advantage of inspection and advice from the centre, it ought to answer our purpose well, as the management itself will be amenable to local public opinion. As it is, the teacher has to satisfy the inspector once a year or so and after such inspection is over he relaxes. This does not make for progress, much less for steady work. Every village school should be the centre of culture and the point of contact with the outside world. The only danger in this conception is that the teacher may get into the habit of looking upon his part in the village as one of promoting social spirit and may neglect his main duty to the younger generation. This social aspect is only a bye-product, it is not the end of a school. Let us place our faith in human nature and in ourselves and go ahead keeping our load-star in sight. We may differ in details, but we shall reach our goal of developing true culture, reliable standards of value and attain unity in spite of our apparent diversity.

The suggested scheme

Of late there has been a good deal of discussion as to the line which true education should take. Gandhiji suggests education should be made self-supporting. He writes "By education I mean an all-round drawing out of the best in child and man—body, mind and spirit. Literacy is not the end of education nor even the beginning. It is only one of the means whereby man and

women can be educated Literacy in itself is no education I would therefore begin with the child's education by teaching it a useful handicraft enabling it to produce from the moment it begins its training Thus every school can be made self-supporting, the condition being that the State takes over the manufactures of these schools

" I hold that the highest development of the mind and the soul is possible under such a system of education Only every handicraft has to be taught not merely mechanically as is done to-day but scientifically, i.e the child should know the why and the wherefore of every process I am not writing this without some confidence, because it has the backing of experience This method is being adopted more or less completely wherever spinning is being taught to-workers I have myself taught sandal-making and even spinning on these lines with good results. This method does not exclude a knowledge of history and geography But I find that this is best taught by transmitting such general information by word of mouth One imparts ten times as much in this manner as by reading and writing The signs of the alphabet may be taught later when he has somewhat developed his or her tastes This is a revolutionary proposal but it saves immense labour and enables a student to acquire in one year what he may take much longer to learn This means all-round economy Of course the pupil learns mathematics whilst he is learning his handicraft.

" I attach the greatest importance to primary education which according to my conception should be equal to the present matriculation less English. If all the collegians were all of a sudden to forget their knowledge, the loss sustained by the sudden lapse of the memory of say a few lacs of collegians would be as nothing compared to the loss that the nation has sustained and is sustaining through the ocean of darkness that surrounds three hundred millions. The measure of illiteracy is no adequate measure of the prevailing ignorance among the millions of villagers "

The education of children in the early stages can never be self-supporting. The articles they may produce will not command any exchange value. If the state is to take them over that will only be another way of meeting the loss and we shall be deceiving ourselves that education is self-supporting. What Gandhiji means by self-supporting is not that each year of the child must be paid for by the products that the child makes in that year. This is too narrow a financial view point and it can never be true. What is meant is a much wider value, not in terms of money only, but in terms of future services rendered by the child as a well-trained citizen. At present, frequently the drilling in the three R's that a child gets in a village is so feeble that after a few years it lapses into illiteracy again and the time and money spent on the child become a sheer waste in course of time. But if it had been properly spent, the

production of the class, though it may not pay for itself each year, in the course of the seven years schooling, the aggregate production of the class ought to cover the amount spent on the salary of the teacher. In the first two years there will be losses, in the next three years it may just balance and the last two years, if the child had been properly trained, ought to show a profit sufficient to cover the losses of the first two years. Apart from this, as has already been pointed out, the training of a good citizen more than compensates any capital expense incurred by the state. When the child is taught crafts which are in local demand such as spinning, dyeing, weaving, tailoring, mat and basket-making, pottery, shoe-making, carpentry, smithy brass and metal working, paper making, gur production, oil pressing, bee keeping etc the problem of marketing will not be great. Even the apprentice of an artisan does not pay for himself from the very start. His training is bound to result in a loss for sometime. After the initial stages, he may produce something worthwhile. Thence onwards he may pay his training through. To meet such early training, the Government has to find the funds or the people will have to set aside certain assets like lands earmarked for the purpose. This was done formerly until the British system of taxation disestablished the village schools. But education of the young must remain a duty of the state. As we are situated at present, our problem is a politically created financial problem and is not natural. The solution lies in correcting it.

politically and not accepting it as inevitable The teacher should himself be a well-trained person who may have to be paid adequately say Rs 25/- as a start. The school hours and terms should be related to the village calendar There may be no classes during harvest seasons or during periods when a great deal of work has to be done on the fields

General outline of the Plan

The Wardha scheme, as this new plan has come to be known, recommends a course of seven years compulsory basic education for boys and girls from the age seven to fourteen The medium of instruction is to be a craft like spinning around which all subjects are taught The everyday life of the child and the correlation of the craft the physical and social environment of the child afford points of co-ordination for all departments of knowledge The standard aimed at is the present-matriculation without English There will be no effort to teach writing until the child has learnt drawing Reading will be taught first After the age of twelve, the people may be allowed to choose a craft as a vocation It does not aim at turning out expert workmen at the age of fourteen but, the pupil will have acquired sufficient training to enter a vocation in which he will do his talents justice

The central idea of this scheme is that intellectual development must be attained through vocational

training The present system emphasizes general education and bases vocational training on it Therefore when intellectual training comes first, we, in a way, tie the hands and feet of the child and he becomes impractical No amount of the later training will ever restore his limbs paralysed in childhood Instruction, without experience to base it on, becomes a pure memory training exercise It does not develop any initiative or personality

Examination

The brunt of examination will be borne by the teaching staff and not by the pupils under this scheme As the pupil's life is to be controlled by the teacher for 24 hours of the day, the teacher becomes knit together with the home of every child and so with the village The work of the teacher will be reflected in the condition of the homes and of the village

Women's part:

We have to follow the natural physical development of the child and follow it mentally, morally, and spiritually The child takes interest in form, colour and movement and then tries to understand the reason why things are what they are Then he will experiment to see if he cannot make things what he wants them to be Thus he advances from play to investigation and then to creation Our educational system has

to cater for these three stages of growth if we plan on eliciting the best in each child To do this, the teacher ought to be fully qualified to enter into the spirit of the child and share it with him By temperament and natural endowment, women, generally speaking, are better able to understand children of the first stage The system in India suffers in no small measure by the lack of education among women The mothers are not qualified to train the child nor can we get properly educated young women to enter the schools as teachers It seems to me if we are to reform the schools, the first step is the education of girls and young women, who are the natural custodians of the generations to come Unless we begin there, any amount of planning and scheming by mere man will be in vain as he only comes in after the impressionable age of the child has been lost Every village school, handling children under eight, must be in the hands of women One can almost say that with rare exceptions no man teacher should be employed in such schools

In the second stage of development of the child, we need persons who will stimulate the thinking of the pupils and explain the why and wherefore of phenomena I had the opportunity of visiting a school in New York State run by the Federation of Labour Unions In that school the whole community lived together and the children took part in the supply of food products and all other domestic matters They had their own

dairy, one of the teachers was in charge and a few boys helped him I attended an "economic class" of pupils of about eleven years of age The subject for the day was "Buying of a Cow". The class was taken charge of by a boy of about ten, the teacher sat in a back row with me The lad in charge (we shall call him Henry) described to the class what his experience was when he went with the teacher (Bill) in charge of the Dairy to an adjoining market to buy a cow. This is how the class went on "Bill and I went to an auction to buy a cow because we do not get enough milk from our cows for us all" One of the pupils asked what an "Auction" was The other explained "An auction is a shop where they had no fixed prices The shopman brought out an article and the persons who wanted it told him what they would pay for it and the shopman gave it to the one who "bid" highest" Then followed an explanation what a 'bid' was Then another pupil asked why different persons "bid" different prices Henry replied the cow they bought started at 75 dollars and was "knocked down" at 120 dollars for Bill After the explanation of "knocked down" he said that the first man suggested paying 75 dollars and others went on increasing the price till Bill bid 120 dollars After that nobody came forward with a higher price so it was sold to Bill Another pupil asked "why nobody wanted to give more than 120 dollars?" Henry described how before the auction all the prospective buyers had gone through the records of the cows and found how much

milk per year it gave, what food it ate during the year and other costs and found out what amount spent on its price would be just covered by the price of milk So the highest limit was calculated and those who wanted an animal would stop bidding when it reached this limit The whole hour spent by those children in thinking these things out for themselves stimulated their faculties to a greater extent than the cramming of economic theories from Adam Smith to Marshall When theories are based on experience, it leads gently on to the next stage of creation and originality

The present system is not capable of producing original thinkers Even graduates of our universities have not reached this third stage It is because of this defect that we are stagnating As we have already seen, the instruction we were given was designed to make clerks of us and an original mind is no part of the equipment of a clerk This stage requires some initiative and a good deal of self confidence The part the teachers should play is to stand by, watch and suggest

No vocational training or education can be complete unless it has some relation to art. This part of our education has been attended to by Poet Tagore The emphasis placed on folk songs, music and art must form part of every village school If such schools can be found to function with a vocation or craft as the base and art as an aid, however simple the courses may be, the result will be an out-turn of men and women with

a backbone of character and self respect who will not purr round the feet of foreign masters for a silken couch to lie on but who will hold their head erect, be independent, and be prepared to share the lowly life of the general run of the people Unless we bend all our might to produce such a stalwart nation, broad based on the sound culture of the masses, it will be futile to attempt to build a superstructure No nation can ever hope to take its place in the vanguard of the nations which has not got its roots in its own culture We cannot shine on borrowed feathers We have to develop our own contribution to the world of literature, art and music

Of course, as Gandhiji suggested, college education must be made self-supporting An agricultural college which cannot maintain itself on the land allotted to it belies the object for which it exists Similarly all other professional and technical colleges should be made to pay for themselves

CHAPTER XI

* DEMOCRACY IN THE ORIENT

When democratic constitution-making is in the air, as at present in our country, it will be well to consider briefly the principles on which democracy is based and the attempts made at various times to attain it

We are familiar with the words of that liberator of mankind, Abraham Lincoln "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people" Sir John Seely in dealing with a much narrower sense of the world explained it as "Government in which everyone has a share," and A V Dicey saw democracy where "the governing body is a comparatively large fraction of the entire nation." All these had in mind merely the political aspect of the application of the principle of democracy

Democratic ideals, however, do not begin and end with politics If this were all, then democracy would dwindle into a state where, as Lord Bryce observes, "the physical force of the citizens coincides with their voting power" and this would mean a dictatorship in effect The true seeds of democracy, on the other hand, sprout and blossom forth in every walk of life In our examination of the subject, we shall, accordingly, extend our

* Reprinted from the 'Aryan Path' by courtesy of the Editors,

observations to the religious, social and economic spheres as well

If democracy is to pervade the whole life of a people, it is obvious that it must not be founded merely on the exigencies of politics but on eternal principles. During the French Revolution, an attempt was made to derive democracy from such principles and it expressed itself in the slogan "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity". If these three principles are to be applied in practice, an order of Society will have to be devised in which their working out will not lead to conflict between individuals. Liberty, for instance, cannot be absolute. Every person will have to surrender a part of his liberty for the benefit of society and, ultimately, it will prove to be for his own benefit also. Nor is perfect equality possible as long as there are differences in nature, so fraternity cannot be understood in the literal sense of the word.

In a true democracy, society should be so planned as to allow full scope for the development of the individual and yet should establish a relative equality by helping and safeguarding the interests of the weak, thus forming a brotherhood in which no one can exploit another. The whole social structure should represent the ideal of progress of all the component parts. Democracy vanishes the moment any one person or group of persons obtains a dominating position. The satisfactory working of its mechanism must be based not on sanctions originating from violence, might or money power.

but from a desire inculcated in the masses to realise the eternal principles of Justice, Truth, Non-Violence and Love. The working of such a system will then be automatic, impersonal and unobtrusive.

To attain such a democracy, the ideals will have to be assimilated subconsciously by society, if we may use language suggestive of the view of society as an organism. A person who is learning to ride a bicycle, controls his bodily movements by conscious effort. His brain is at the helm. As the brain is not quick enough to give immediate effect to changes of direction, his progress is jerky and irregular. An expert cyclist on the other hand is not even conscious of being on a bicycle. The control has passed from his brain to his nervous system. It functions almost automatically without any effort, and more quickly than conscious thought. Hence he rides gracefully and in a perfect straight line. In the same way if society is to fulfil its purposes smoothly and without periodical upheavals, the control must be from the inner self and not from outside. Such a state we may call "cultural democracy".

The amateur cyclist's control is functional, as his faculties have consciously to guide his movements. So also where democratic principles have not permeated into the very being of the people and the community is guided by one or a few individuals at the helm, the direction is from outside and therefore does not work automatically. It may have the outward form, but lacks

the inward urge. We may term such a state "functional democracy" *We may create functional democracies overnight, but cultural democracies are products of millennia Only the latter will stand the test of time*

The essence of functional democracy is the form based on a widely diffused franchise. Cultural democracy, on the other hand, is based on the will of the people themselves which finds expression not in mere votes but in actual administrative power. Just as the majority of persons refrain from stealing, not because they fear jail, but because they have cultivated an in-born respect for other persons' rights, so when every individual, of his own accord, desires the social good and acts accordingly, we shall have attained cultural democracy—which needs no voting constituencies, but in which the executive power can devolve on each individual to a limited extent

When we survey the races of mankind and trace the development of democracies, we find an interesting sequence according to their maturity and environment

The warmer climate of Southern Europe conducted to social life and aggregation in clustering huts of villages. These produced the city civilizations of Greece and Rome. But the bleak Northern and Western parts of Europe led to the development of isolated farmsteads, emphasising individuality. Under such circumstances, we should expect to find personal leadership with strong discipline and unquestioning obedience. With this

tradition, it is natural to form so-called democratic parliamentary governments where the number of votes count more than their quality. Similarly in religion, the organization in the West tapers upwards to the Pope, in social life to the Courts of Kings, and in economics to the capitalist. As long as such small groups provide the leadership, there are bound to be conflicts of interest and these democracies are little different from dictatorships whether of an individual or of a small group. In fact, if we scratch the surface of such democracies, we shall find the tribal chieftain with a garland of skulls. With the crust removed, we meet Mussolinis and Hitlers. With the crust removed we have the Cabinet in England tied to the apron strings of financiers. The man in the street has hardly any real part in the government. Such democracies flourish on the ignorance of the public which is spoon-fed. The leading group or class keeps itself apart by its etiquette, decorum and cultivated social manners which form a divisive factor rather than an adhesive force as far as the masses are concerned.

As in the case of the "good Samaritan," real democracy and true culture should help to bridge over racial and other barriers. Western "democracy," however, accentuates differences according to group allegiances. At present we see geographical, ethnical and religious divisions amongst nations and class differences within nations. Thus it has been possible to set nation against nation and class against class and so produce an unstable equilibrium to maintain a balance.

of power As Bertrand Russell states "England has hitherto been the decisive factor in preserving that state of anarchy which our grandfathers called "the liberties of Europe" Even a socialist of the rank of Karl Marx believes that tropical countries are legitimate booty for European states because of the latter's "superior civilization" How shall we find "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" where such provincialism prevails and where, in consequence, even motherhood has been converted into an ammunition factory? Naturally personal or group governments such as these which emphasise narrow loyalties and divide up peoples give rise to conflicts resulting in international strife. The same is the position even in religion in the West The hankering for converts and the missionary crusade against other religions is the outcome of such unconscious group loyalty

As we move towards the East, we come to Islamic democracy. This has definitely left the primitive and functional type and advanced in the cultural stage of democracy Here the life of the people is not conditioned by the dictates of a single individual or of a group but by the functioning of a socio-religious order which has sought to bring "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" to the prince and the peasant, the sage and the savage, the black and the white It has attained almost an international rank but for the limit of a common allegiance to the Prophet of Mecca The social, the economic, the political, the ethnical and geographical barriers have

been let down but the religious frontier remains impregnable

Similarly in China and in Japan (as she was before reverting to the functional type half a century ago) we find the cultural form of democracy. Just as Islamic democracy was limited by religion, so the Mongolian democracy fell short of the ideal by a certain amount of feudalism and racial isolation. Within such limitation the life of the nation was ordered by a social organisation very similar to what we observe in our own land. This cultural organisation is impersonal and performs its duty irrespective of the individual concerned. When Bertrand Russel advocates the formation of large self-contained states to avoid international conflict, he is moving towards the Mongolian type of democracy.

In our own country we get a picture of the political life of the people from the old *Nitisastras* and *Puranas*. The daily life of the people is still ordered and regulated, not by external pressure but by the functioning of a socio-religious-economic order which has become a part of the people themselves. It is this that holds together the diverse elements that compose our continent. Westerners who look at us through their functional democracy see divisive factors in language, customs and geographical conditions and declare we have neither unity nor political sense as our people do not seem capable of blindly following a leader or party, which quality is a *sine quanon* for the satisfactory

working of functional democracy. And yet a fairly advanced form of a really democratic type of government, well on the way to realising the full cultural democracy indicated above, is to be found in our ancient village administration. In a cultural democracy physical differences, such as race, colour or territory are not capable of making lasting impressions. Our system was so virile and cosmopolitan that it found no difficulty in absorbing even invaders and foreigners. As already said, the principles of this democracy have been woven into the life and thought of the people through the ages by means of social regulations and institutions. If there are Kings, they are but minor wheels in the machinery and according to *Sukraniti*, they are but glorified policemen and legislators. The real government is in the hands of the people. Decentralised small bodies, the village panchayats, decide on matters vitally affecting the local community. The authority of the panchayat depends on the confidence placed in it by the people, a confidence based on close personal knowledge of the members composing it, and its sanction is not imprisonment but the power to declare the offender a *gramadrohin* (traitor to the village). Its decisions are not majority decisions but are made unanimous by winning over the dissenting minority. Such a government may be truly said to function from within, as the actual administrative decision is in the hands of the people themselves.

A centralised government, on the other hand, cannot be a government by the people and rarely can it be

a government for the people. *If the government is to be by the people, it must reach down to the meanest village. No mere enlargement of the franchise, however broad-based, will ever answer the purpose.*

Further, no group, however detached, can function in an impartial way in matters in which its interests conflict with the interests of others. Such matters require detachment in time as well, and should be regulated by means of impersonal regulations and institutions as in our ancient form of government. By so doing, the interests of the weak and the poor will be safeguarded. The joint family system, for example, was an attempt at a modification of distribution and at providing for the less efficient members of society. The *Baluta* system of payment in kind was a device to ensure a minimum means of subsistence to everyone. There was not a department of life that was not thus provided for. India had attained such a cultural democracy centuries ago. But for its impersonal decentralised working, our civilisation could not have withstood the manifold vicissitudes of life to this day. When the purity of such conception in a cultural democracy was affected by the introduction of inequalities and discriminations, and when the duties of the custodians of culture faded away into the rights of privileged classes, the seeds of decay took root and India fell a victim to foreign invaders.

Decentralisation, which was at the basis of our democracy, was the great principle worked out by our

people in all walks of life Even in religion, it will not be possible to find a more decentralised and therefore, necessarily, tolerant, form of thought, action and worship than Hinduism The social order was governed by the *Varnasrama Dharma*, which meant that each individual's duty was determined by his unique place in the community In the economic sphere where people were endowed differently by nature, the practice of *laissez-faire* led to exploitation of the weak by the strong This tendency was curbed and competition modified by the conception of division of labour under the caste system

Thus by checks and counter-checks laid down by consideration of fundamental principles, *India had arrived at a formula which approximated real cultural democracy and the government it had evolved was truly a government of the villagers, by the villagers and for the villagers*

Yet there was one drawback According to the *Varnasrama Dharma* it is only by conforming to the divine and eternal plan of performing the duties incidental to one's position in the community that one can obtain freedom The individual by himself counts for little Any value that may be attached to him comes from his being a member of the society He is like the drop of water that goes to make a beautiful waterfall The drop of water passes away but the waterfall is a lasting factor Individual interests are not supreme It is society that matters, and its welfare is to be sought irrespective of the inconvenience it may cause to the

individual In an ideal democracy, however, the individual cannot thus be minimised, for it is he that constitutes society and it is his development that is the goal of all human endeavour When we obtain such a form of society where the scope of the individual for full development of his personality is not restricted, and where in developing himself he develops others, we shall have attained the ideal human state

Our consideration shows that Western democracies are still at the stage where nations are led by small groups or individuals and where sanctions are based on violence Eastern democracies have passed over to the cultural stage but they also have fallen short of real democracy in so far as they have only reached religious or village units and have not got down to individuals When the world advances to a stage where every one functions according to the ideals inculcated and performs his *Swadharma* and the sanctions are based on love and truth then we shall have projected Lincoln's ideal of functional democracy on to the cultural form and obtained a self-acting democracy which will be a government of the person, by the person and for the person, and this, in the aggregate, will materialise into a government of the people, by the people and for the people

CHAPTER XII

ECONOMIC SURVEYING AND PLANNING

Different Types

Surveys and Plans are not all of one kind. They differ widely. For convenience sake we may divide them into four groups (a) Academic, (b) Propagandic, (c) Clinical and (d) Diagnostic.

Academic Surveys:

Persons who enter upon an academic survey, however well they may be equipped otherwise, are supposed to approach it not with an open mind but with a blank mind. Everything has to be proved to the hilt, the evidence being based on statistics, authoritative statements and other well documented propositions. Finance and cost of the enquiry are no consideration. Eternity is the time limit for perfection. Scientific accuracy is the sole aim. The outlook has to be detached and dispassionate and no personal contact with the problem is needed. The results are left in the lap of the Gods.

It will be imperative to marshal volumes of statistics to prove that the villagers are poor. Laborious enquiries will have to be made to be convinced that the villagers are starving. Unearthing of long forgotten

historical documents will be needed to establish that the industries are languishing Beautifully written volumes will record these findings

Such have been the innumerable reports of various Royal Commissions and governmental enquiries Judged by their results they have been perfectly futile They cannot be otherwise Experts are brought from distant lands to ensure the condition that they come with a blank mind They have no contact with the people They seek none They move in an artificial atmosphere and finally help to fill the many pigeon holes in the Secretariat with their pious propositions and lengthy resolutions

Propagandic Surveys.

When certain desired ends have to be attained it is imperative that the public should be led towards the set goal by skillfully managed Keddah operations Just as elephants are driven to the trap by closing all possible exits by cleverly planned beating and manoeuvring, the unsuspecting person is told what he should think by means of adopt reasoning with manipulated statistics and half truths Here the persons on the Committee do not come to the work with a blank mind but with a packed mind or a prejudice to fullfil a set purpose Such are propagandic surveys

In this method as in the former, elaborate procedure has to be gone through to distract the victim

much in the same way as the magician directs the attention of his audience to irrelevant matters before he performs his sleight of hand tricks

Surveys of this type are undertaken by imperialist economists like J M Keynes or Government Protagonists like M L Darling or F L Brayne These reports may not be as innocuous as the former but may result in actual injury as in the case of the exchange ratio

Clinical Surveys:

In the clinical survey the purpose is to obtain knowledge or experience When the surgeon is lecturing his concern is not the recovery of the patient but the study of the malady The patient is a mere detail and presents a convenient medium to focus attention on the disease The persons engaged in such surveys are either pedants wishing to produce learned books or students in Universities working for the half mark of degrees A survey of this nature may be undertaken without any regard to utility

There may be no field work, the library being the sole source of information with such other facts as a well drafted questionnaire may elicit

No material results are expected or planned for Our libraries are stocked full of such tomes clarifying definitions and rehashing ideas. These works are still born and are of no utilitarian value

Diagnostic Surveys:

The Diagnostic Survey centres its attention not on the disease but on the patient. The doctor does not approach the sick bed with a blank mind, or with a prejudice, or with the desire to vivisect his patient with a view to furthering his knowledge, but proceeds to apply his well trained and richly stocked brain to the problem of restoring the sick-man to health and strength. It is an application of previously obtained experience to the present situation. All enquiries are directed towards that end. The reaction of the enquirer to the immediate subject is of the essence. The efforts are not directed towards writing a book on tuberculosis nor towards warning all and sundry against this fell disease, nor in acquiring further knowledge but to save the patient.

This attitude colours the whole procedure. It is presumed that the physician knows all about the disease. It is not necessary for him to prove that such a disease exists and that human beings are susceptible to it and so on. We assume he knows all that. His purpose is to find a quick remedy. Time and cost are primary considerations, and the diagnosis and the remedy should be closely connected with the patient. The doctor will be judged by the results he produces. In the personality of the Surveyor many things are taken for granted and what is looked for is his reaction to the situation. It is true, questions have to be asked, the temperature has to be taken but they are all directed towards an end.

The methods followed by Gandhiji are good examples of surveys of this type. Without much sophisticated trumpet blowings and pedantic procedures he is able to place his finger on the spot and suggest remedies.

We shall now proceed to consider the requisites of this method of work as regards the personnel, finance, procedure and plan.

Personnel

Just as it would be absurd for a medical man to set out to diagnose a case without having had an intensive training and a period of preparation no one should have the audacity to start a survey or suggest a plan without having had a thorough preparation for it. We would laugh a person to scorn if after being called to attend on a sick man he proceeds to the Medical College to learn the A B C of the matter. Yet many a committee is brought into being under such utterly ridiculous conditions—men who are total strangers to the land and to the people are put on it. Unfortunately even many professors of Economics have no living touch with the people. They may be able to repeat the reports of the royal commissions backwards and discuss at great length fine points of economic theory but that is no qualification so long as they live far from the real India. We do not need ornamental heads or a galaxy of magnates of Finance, Science, Economics and

other departments of life but we must have men devoted to the cause What is the cause? If they come with due preparation, there will be no need to prove the basic conditions in the country If they know them, there can be only one course viz the amelioration of the economic condition of the people With this as the primary objective the procedure will be selected to serve the desired end

If the work is entrusted to a Committee, every member of the Committee should contribute his quota There is no status attached to membership of such a Committee other than what service rendered will bring and no self interest can be sought in it Therefore it should be a Committee of devoted workers

Financial.

Ours is a poor country and it will be an irony of fate if those entrusted with the preparation of a plan to relieve poverty started by accentuating it The human value of wealth is reduced when transferred from the poor man to the rich man Generally such survey committees are drawn from the comparatively well-to-do or rich classes And if the expenses of such a commission are met from taxation which is drawn from the poor there is a loss of national wealth Therefore, such committees should not draw anything more than actuals and even such actuals should be of the minimum These undertakings are not money making

ventures Even officials who may be detailed off on such duties should realise the contradiction involved in drawing fat salaries and allowances when engaged on such work For the same reason, the period of work must be curtailed and made as short as possible

Procedure:

The same consideration will call for a simple procedure All work not material to the purpose should be avoided There should be no need for an elaborate questionnaire unless the problem is approached with a blank mind The questionnaire should be like the pointed questions a medical man asks his patient to know the immediate disturbing causes and the symptoms, and they should be as few as possible so as not to cause an undue strain on the patient

The members of the Committee must come into close contact with those whose condition the Committee seeks to improve For this they may have to visit villages and obtain first hand information If the Committee takes its duties seriously this contact will be fundamental to its work because it is the focus from which everything will radiate Without such a starting point there will be no meaning to its work If for instance, we talk of "Key Industries", what are key industries is a question that naturally arises To which treasure house is this a key? If we are striving to uplift the masses then the treasure house is the means

of affording gainful occupations to the masses and key industries are those which are elemental to the industries followed by the masses. It is the approach that gives content to the words commonly used. As we presume that members enter on their duties with due preparation there will be no need to make an exhaustive survey of facts. A few well chosen areas or groups should be studied carefully to get at the real maladies of the masses. This sampling will also considerably curtail the time and the expense. Many things are done on the basis of information gathered from experience and not with the aid of an exhaustive enquiry. If a train has to be sent from Bombay to Calcutta we do not first gather information about the exact number of 1st, 2nd and 3rd class passengers with their luggage calculated to the ounce at every station en-route both of alighting passengers and those who are to board the train. If we tried to proceed on this method, not a single train could run. And yet some of the Royal commissions have thought this was the proper way to go about their business and hence they have been futile. There is a strong tendency amongst us to copy this seemingly scientific method. Let us beware of its laudable plausibility.

Planning

Having obtained the necessary reactions, information and facts we should proceed to plan. The whole scheme should be practicable and not ask for the moon.

The first steps should be well defined keeping in mind the immediate wants of the masses. If the Committee has an ideal that ideal will be reflected in its plan. For instance, the Congress has repeatedly set before itself the ideal of working for the welfare of the masses. So any plan emanating from a Congress Committee should be mass centred i.e. the approach will be to co-ordinate the economic plan so as to enable the masses to strengthen their economic position. As already pointed out key industries will be organised to serve their needs. Public utilities and natural resources will not be allowed to be exploited for private profit but must be run on a service basis. If India is to organise herself on the basis of nonviolence there can be no other way.

Every industry has to be studied with care and the component processes analysed to find out the proper parties on whom the different functions should fall. For instance a careful analysis will show that in transforming hides into leather there are many processes, some demanding the attention of individuals and others falling to the lot of Government. The carcass has to be flayed and the hide should be salted immediately. Any delay in salting will allow putrification to set in. A putrified skin cannot make good leather. Even if the carcass is dragged about the hide will be damaged irreparably, the value of the hide will go down in much greater proportion to the apparent damage. Time is a factor in tanning. Chamars are members of a commu-

nity that is weak financially and as at present organised, the whole burden falls on them with the result that tanning is not given sufficient time. Our leather is bad and possible national wealth is thrown away Hides should be considered a national wealth and anything that lessens the value of it should therefore command the attention of the State When properly planned, Government should shoulder the responsibility for supervising flaying and as salt is a monopoly, should supply salt duty free to preserve the hide and sure access to cheap tanning materials and protect the industry from outside competition and relieve the chamars from financial strain Thus the various factors of production are co-ordinated and divided between the State and the people each functioning in the processes it is best fitted to perform, this is planning Without such functional distribution of productive operation there can be no planning The formal control of the State is a prerequisite to such planning

In the absence of such popular control over the state the All India Spinners Association and the All India Village Industries Association have stepped into that place and have been striving to supply the State functions of organisation, finance, standardisation, marketing, research industrial education and dissemination of information to the extent to which private effort with our legislative power can do Even the protection that should have been given by law, has been

given to a limited extent by these Associations by harnessing Patriotism and Public opinion to this end.

Working under a Planned economy is like working in a laboratory — under an artificially made environment which can be readily altered to suit changing conditions. Therefore, a nation wide effective Planning demands complete independence having control over Finance, the Military and the Railways. Without such powers to plan is merely to play with the problems

CHAPTER XIII

INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME

It is impossible to overlook in any country the organisation needed to provide food and other primary necessities. Agriculture ought, therefore, to be the greatest amongst occupations. To carry on this occupation profitably, we require a considerable and close study of nature on a scientific basis, for it is an occupation in which man attempts to control nature and his own environment in such a way as to produce the best results. This work cannot possibly be carried on individualistically, because it requires a considerable amount of time for experimentation, going often beyond the proverbial three score years and ten which may fall to the lot of the long lived ones. Many of the experiments in cross-breeding to bring out special strains in particular crops have to be tested through several generations before they can be put into the practical field on a commercial scale. This type of work can only be done by the state for the people, and when it is done, unless the result of the experimentation is brought home to the cultivator and he is afforded every encouragement to carry it on, it will be useless. Merely improving tools without considering the conditions under which the man works, will not solve the problem.

Next to agriculture, probably, the greatest industry is the production of clothing. This may be used as a

subsidiary industry to agriculture which, in our country, hardly occupies even half the working days in a year. If we can usefully employ the idle hours of the farmer, that in itself will afford sufficient wealth to increase greatly the purchasing power of the people. This is a line in which a wise attempt has been made and considerable success achieved by the programme of work laid out by the All India Spinners' Association.

There are also other industries which help to decrease the pressure on land by drawing off the idle population and providing work for them. We may divide these into (a) industries which affect the whole country because the products are in universal demand, and (b) cottage industries which provide curios and luxury articles.

Village Industries.

Under the first group we, may bring in occupations which are closely connected with the production of food from raw materials, such as flour-grinding, de-husking of paddy, oil pressing, gur-making etc. Then there are other industries which may provide universal subsidiary occupations to the agriculturists such as bee-keeping, sericulture, lac cultivation etc. Then we have many occupations which touch definite communities but, at the same time, are spread over the whole country, such as tanning, paper-making, rope-making, basket-making, pottery, bricks, tiles, carpentry, blacksmithy, etc.

These industries may well be called the main village industries

Cottage Industries

Apart from these, under the second group, we have cottage-industries for the manufacture of luxury articles and others, the demand for which may not be so universal but which are in use every day, such as soap-making, printing, dyeing, works of art, metal industries etc Unless we have our industries broad-based and well organised to supplement each other, the country cannot be an economic unit

As we have already seen, international trade should only be confined to such articles as cannot be consumed locally, because, owing to the present economic barriers to be met with even within our own country, it is not possible to ensure full returns to the producer As long as this state of affairs continues, and the producer has no hold on international markets and is not well enough equipped to understand their working, it will be suicidal for him to attempt to go beyond the borders of our land As far as practicable, we have to attempt to convert raw materials into finished products before they leave the locality in which the raw material is found

When raw materials are exported it is equivalent to exporting employment Therefore the import of
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finished goods which can be made from raw materials available locally is creating unemployment. This immediately gives us the solution of this problem. The more we use locally made goods the less will the unemployed be.

A. I V I A. Programme:

The All India Village Industries Association has been formed to carry out this function. The method adopted by this Association may be divided into three groups

- 1 It tries to stop wastage and to convert waste materials to good purpose
- 2 It attempts to conserve the resources at present available to the villagers
- 3 It attempts to utilise profitably the hours of leisure and introduce such work as will increase the wealth of the people

As an instance of the first item on the programme, we may mention the question of nutrition, sanitation and hygiene. Situated as we are, man is the most important factor and motive power in our economic system. If he is allowed to remain in an under-nourished condition and is weakened by various diseases, then production suffers. A balanced diet, therefore, becomes a necessity. As it is, many of our villagers have barely sufficient cereal to consume. They have practically no

vegetables or other elements that are necessary to supply the requirements of the body. It is, therefore, a criminal waste for them to consume whatever cereal is available to them in a nutritively depleted form, as they now do. This is what happens, for example, when they get their rice polished in a mill, depriving the grains of the bran, mineral salts, oils and pericarp, and leaving mainly the starch for food. It is not possible to go into all the details of the programme of the Association here, but this is stated merely as an illustration to indicate the method by which the problem is attacked.

In regard to the effort to conserve the resources at present available, we may mention the attempt to utilise night soil and village waste in the form of manure, as well as the programme for the disposal of carcasses whereby every part of the dead animals is used.

To illustrate the effort made to increase productivity, we may mention the attempt to introduce subsidiary occupations such as bee-keeping, papermaking, lac culture etc.

What to produce

The main purpose is to make production as broad based as possible and to aim at producing goods which the people themselves require rather than attempt the production of articles required by the wealthy. As long as we produce articles which are in universal demand, such as simple cotton clothing, village chāmpals

sleeping-mats etc , the problem of marketing does not arise When production aims at supplying the needs of the wealthy, though the margin of profit may be higher, yet the difficulties of marketing shift the gains of the occupation to the middleman Also the number of people who can be profitably occupied becomes very small as the demand for such goods is confined to the rich

Our purpose should be to distribute wealth amongst as many persons as possible and not to concentrate it in a few hands. Where articles require a little help in their marketing the Association attempts to do this also by introducing the producer and the consumer to each other through the medium of certified shops located in towns and cities, but the main emphasis is not on such goods as require this help

The Association keeps in mind the poverty of the masses and advocates only such industries as require little or no capital, need simple equipment, are easy in technique and the manufactures of which find a ready market The raw material should be locally available, but if it is imported, then the cost of such raw material should bear a very low percentage to the total cost of the finished product If brass sheets are imported from abroad, and the beaten brass vessel sells at Rs 4 of which Rs 3 represents the cost of the brass sheets, then obviously 75% of the price paid finds its way out into distant markets The remedy is to find substitutes for

such vessels and stop our purchasing power being transferred to distant places Production should be centred round the needs of the villagers, and under present conditions, international trade should be at a discount Things that provide the villager with better food, clothes and shelter should be emphasised rather than articles meant for distant markets Some missionaries have been attempting to introduce poultry-keeping in villages, but their methods are not suitable They introduce foreign birds such as Leghorns, Minorcas, Rhode Island Reds, and their crossbreeds The eggs show a great improvement in size and the birds are fine, but the villager cannot afford to eat such fine eggs himself and so he sells them to city folk The birds themselves are very expensive, need careful looking after and are not as resistant to disease as country fowl If an epidemic comes, the whole stock often dies Such industry is speculative and, therefore, beyond the capacity of our villagers We would prefer to see an improvement in the eggs of the country fowl and feel satisfied if the villagers themselves eat the eggs and sell only the surplus Catering to a distant market makes them depend on the tender mercies of middle men

It is often argued that anything that puts money into villagers' pockets is good This is a partial truth Money economy is essential to extend the market Distant suppliers demand money Therefore, putting more money in the pockets of the villagers is increasing the chances of sale of foreign products and reducing

employment in our own land We know to our cost the truth of this statement Who will advocate the villager selling his milk for money and starving his own child ?

When we import foreign articles, we forget that we are throwing the bread of our children away to others and thus increasing the unemployed and partly employed We are, in effect, using foreign servants We are too poor to be able to do this We cannot go on consuming without producing We should try to see that all locally available raw materials are turned into finished articles before being marketed

At present, all our industries are slowly becoming curio trades Every trade, the articles of which are widely used in our households, gives employment to several persons and the articles themselves are low priced But the moment a trade shifts to cater for the curio hunter, the article manufactured is a diminutive replica of the original and finds no market as a household article although it may fetch a higher price The number of workers engaged in the trade accordingly diminish and middlemen appear to exploit the profits Hence such curio trades are not really in the national interest

As the programme stands, women can play an unrivalled part in building our frame-work on a solid foundation Practically the whole of the programme lies within the sphere of women—sanitation, hygiene, nutrition, clothing and household requirements If

women will make up their minds that they will not buy goods which have been produced by exploitation and go in only for articles produced in a decentralised way, they will give a great impetus to the revival of our countryside and place the nation on a sound economic basis

The Association also attempts to provide expert technical advice and help to improve our age old methods of production

By such efforts, if we can safeguard the masses from the exploitors, if we can give them employment to fill their idle moments, if we can direct their activity into industries which have a ready and known demand, if we can help to increase their productivity without resorting to predation, if locally available raw materials can be worked up in the most scientific way, then the nation will surely emerge from the slough of despond to a rock of hope and thence march on to prosperity

CHAPTER XIV

CENTRALISATION vs DECENTRALISATION

In this chapter we shall gather together all the arguments, for and against the two forms of organising production of goods for consumption even at the risk of some repetition

Every instrument has to be shaped to fulfill the purpose for which it is intended if it is to function efficiently. We cannot drive a nail into the wall with a watch nor cut a furrow through the field with a pen-knife. We should use a hammer for the first and plough for the second, for the purpose. If this is so in the mechanical world, how much more important it is to use proper methods in the Social and Economic Spheres.

Yet how many give any thought to fitness of instruments they recommend as the means. Centralisation or decentralisation methods are but instruments for Social and Economic ends. Therefore we have to weigh carefully the claims of either systems to suit our purpose, before we can launch out on a definite programme.

The Goal of an Economic System :

No one of us is likely to question the purpose of an economic order which may be stated for clarity's sake as follows —

- 1 It should create wealth as efficiently as possible.

- 2 It should distribute wealth widely and evenly
- 3 It should supply the needs of the people before comforts and luxuries are catered for
- 4 It should be a means for eliciting all the faculties of the worker and developing his personality
- 5 It should be conducive to peace and harmony of society

Circumstances leading to centralisation .

Centralisation has been the result of five main causes

1. Wherever there is to be found accumulated capital with a few persons who seek to keep a close and watchful eye over their investments, they prefer centralised methods We find a good example of this in Great Britain When she got the hoarded wealth of India, she resorted to this form of production in the eighteenth century
- 2 When there is a good deal of pressing work and there is a scarcity of labour, perforce man grows extra hands in the form of tools or mechanism A good example of this is the growth of industrialisation in U S A America's vast distances, virgin forests and mighty rivers obstructed man's progress through the continent People who

could be harnessed to this work were few, hence the great conquest of natural forces

- 3 Wherever standardised articles are needed, centralisation is essential to multiply a particular kind of article on a mass scale Such need may arise out of two causes (a) Functionally, where the article by its very nature calls for standard parts, e.g motor cars, Railway rolling stock etc and (b) purposive, where it is necessary because large numbers need identically similar articles as in the case of military equipment, examples of this may be seen in the militaristic nations of to-day, Italy, Germany and Japan
- 4 Centralisation in production may again be resorted to where labour is plentiful and it has to be manoeuvred to a plan of work as in the case of Soviet Russia where regimentation of labour was resorted to bring about quick results
- 5 Again it may be necessary when raw materials, manufacture, and markets are wide apart It is only by unified control that these can be brought together so as to enable the machines to produce steadily and at an economic speed Japan, Germany and England furnish good examples of these.

Evils of centralisation .

We have mentioned only five, but these are not inseparable. In some countries more than one factor may bring about centralised production. These situations considered above are to a great extent solved by resorting to centralised production but the evils attaching to such a method are not avoided. These evils again may be seen to correspond to the five causes.

- 1 Centralisation which is the result of accumulation of capital also leads to concentration of wealth which is the hot-bed of class cleavage
- 2 When scarcity of labour drives men to methods of centralised production, naturally the labour force being few, purchasing power distributed in the process of production is also small. Therefore, this inevitability leads to shortage in purchasing power and ultimately decreases the effectiveness of the demand and thus causes relative over-production, such as the one we witness in the world to-day
- 3 Where need for standardisation brings about centralisation of production, there can be no variegation in the product. It also checks progress. By facilitating large scale equipment, it encourages warfare

- 4 Regimentation of labour leads to a greater concentration of power which is even more dangerous than concentration of wealth. The greater the numbers held by central control the greater can the power be
- 5 Co-ordination of supplies of raw materials, production and finding markets for finished goods results in Imperialism and warfare.

Decentralisation:

Let us now turn towards decentralisation and consider under which circumstances it can be used with advantage. Here again we shall look at the problem from the corresponding five points.

- 1 Where there is a scarcity of capital, it is not possible, nor is it necessary to have centralisation. The only possibility is decentralisation. An attempt is being made to meet this by the promotion of Limited Liability Companies to gather in scattered bits of capital, but this does not solve the problem of distribution of wealth. It presents other difficulties
2. Where there is a plethora of labour, or in other words, unemployment or under-employment we shall be increasing the malady by centralising the production.

- 3 Diversity and variegation is the very essence of decentralisation Where this is needed no machine can compete with hand-work more especially where the hand-work has to be the expression of a personality
4. If democracy is to be attained, decentralisation lays the required foundation as centralisation kills all initiative in the masses, they succumb readily to central dictatorship. Centralisation is the grave of democracy
- 5 Where raw materials and markets are in the proximity of the producing centres, decentralisation methods will serve well.

Advantages:

- 1 Decentralisation makes far more even distribution of wealth and makes people tolerant
- 2 The process of production includes distribution of wealth also, as a large part of the cost goes to pay for the labour. Better distribution of purchasing power leads to effective demand and producing is directed into a supply of needs as the supply here will follow demand
- 3 As each producer becomes an entrepreneur, he gets plenty of scope to exercise his initiative With the responsibility of the business on his shoulders, business-like methods and habits will be formed.

When every individual develops himself, the average intelligence of the nation will increase

- 4 The market being close to the centre of production, there is not much difficulty in selling the goods nor have we to create an artificial market by forced salesmanship
- 5 Without centralisation of either wealth or power, there can be no disturbance of peace on a large nation-wide scale

A glance at the above analysis should leave no doubt as to what will suit conditions in our own country. Of course, as regards key industries and public utilities there is no alternative to centralisation, but this can be done either co-operatively or by socialising such industries

It must be clearly remembered that when we advocate decentralisation, it does not mean that we eschew all machinery. Where machines work as tools or slaves of man, we need them and have to improve the existing ones and invent new ones. It is only when machine is used to transfer the benefit of one man's labour to another that we have to cry a halt.

Under such circumstances, machine becomes the master and man becomes a slave. As far as circumstances in our country go, decentralised methods are the

only remedy for the ills we suffer from—lack of initiative want of sense of responsibility, looseness in business methods, wide-spread poverty, unemployment and under-employment

Decentralised methods of production have an educative value which no nation that wishes to progress and is willing to take advantage of every opportunity open to it for the purpose, can afford to ignore with impunity Centralised methods of production offer no such educational values to the worker, on the contrary its strain and stress makes the man deteriorate whatever material contributions it may make to his animal needs Let us not therefore blindly follow the shadow and lose the substance

CHAPTER XV

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

We have considered in the sixth chapter various factors which lead to strife amongst nations. We traced the seeds of dissension to the methods of economic production and the difficulties consequent on supplies preceding demand. In the subsequent chapters we discussed methods of production, which distribute economic activities amongst the masses. Where there is decentralisation of this type, it is not possible for such small producers to combine and create a menace to international peace. Raw materials will be exploited in the locality in which they are found, and the products will also be disposed of amongst the people. If there is any international trade, it will be of small magnitude, and it will not entail the necessity of controlling the source of raw materials. Nor will the supplies which will be scattered and small require "the civilising of backward races" in order to sell them. Supplies will follow a natural demand, and no violence will be needed to equate the two. Every man will get the fruits of his own labour, however small it may be, and there will be no opportunity provided to make one wealthy at the cost of another with the aid of violence. If women control demand, production will follow a natural course, and we shall not witness a world glutted with one kind of commodity while it lacks others. Nor shall we have to resort to violence.

to establish equilibrium Man will realise his inner urge for self-expression in his work, and no violence will be needed to whip him on to further effort Nor will there be any need to control raw material sources or markets with violence A sense of human values will direct economic activity into right channels Such being the case, we shall render impotent the causes which are at the root of international rivalry, jealousies and competition In sofar as these causes are removed, or in the proportion in which they are minimised, the chances of war breaking out will also have been controlled If this can be achieved, it will lead to human progress, peace and the prosperity of all nations

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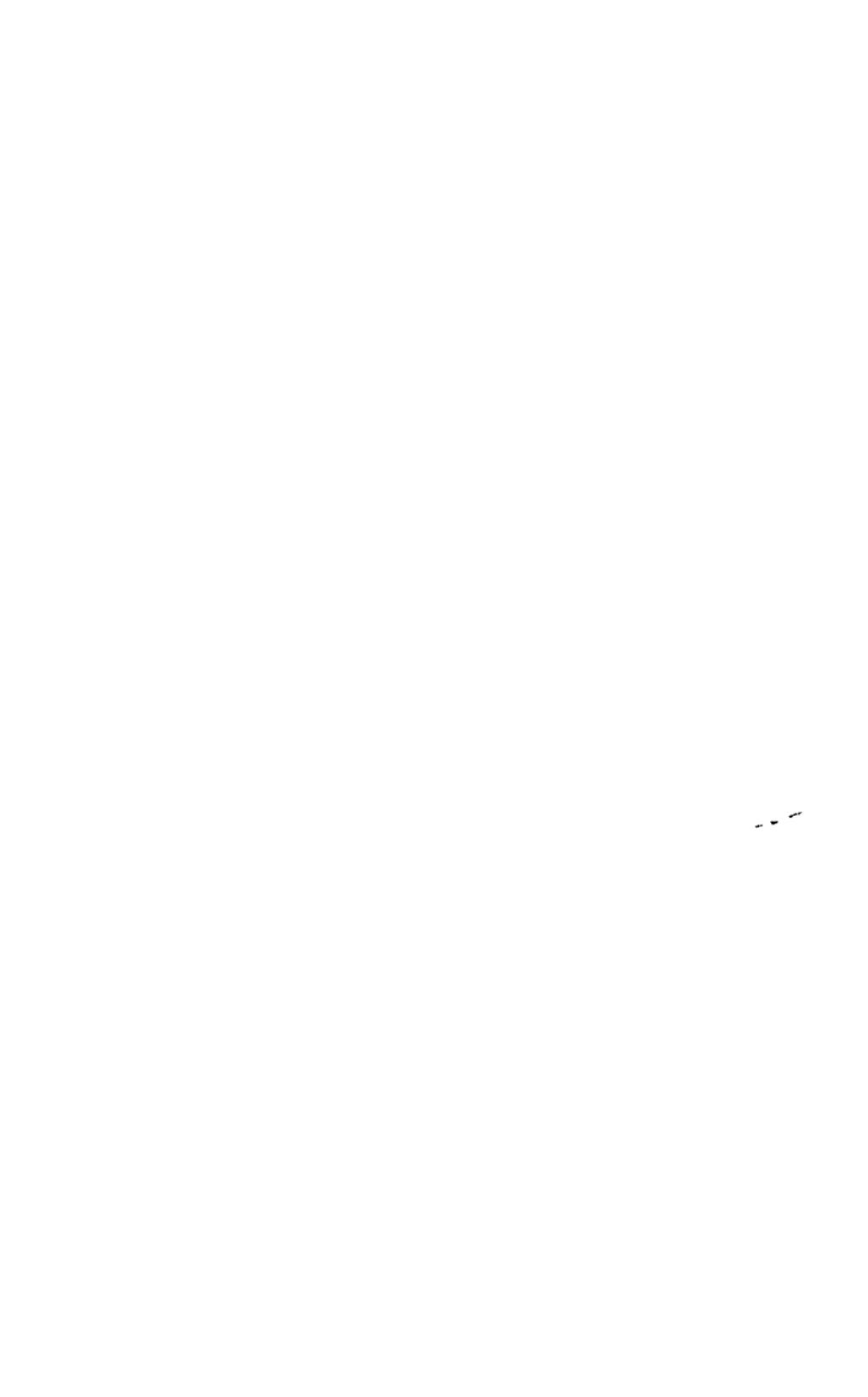
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